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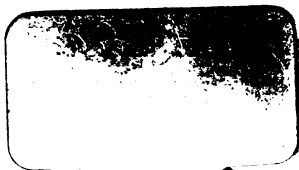


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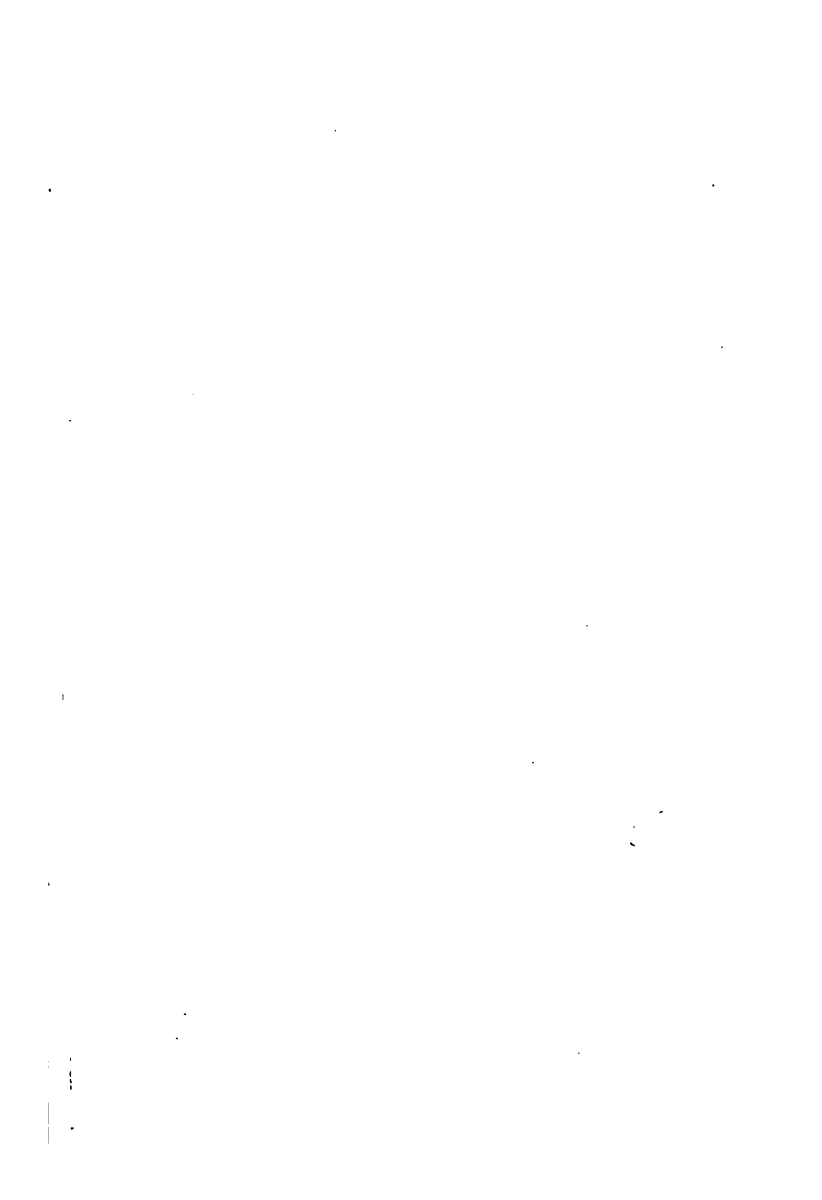
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# GERMANY

at the time  
of the Thirty Years' War.

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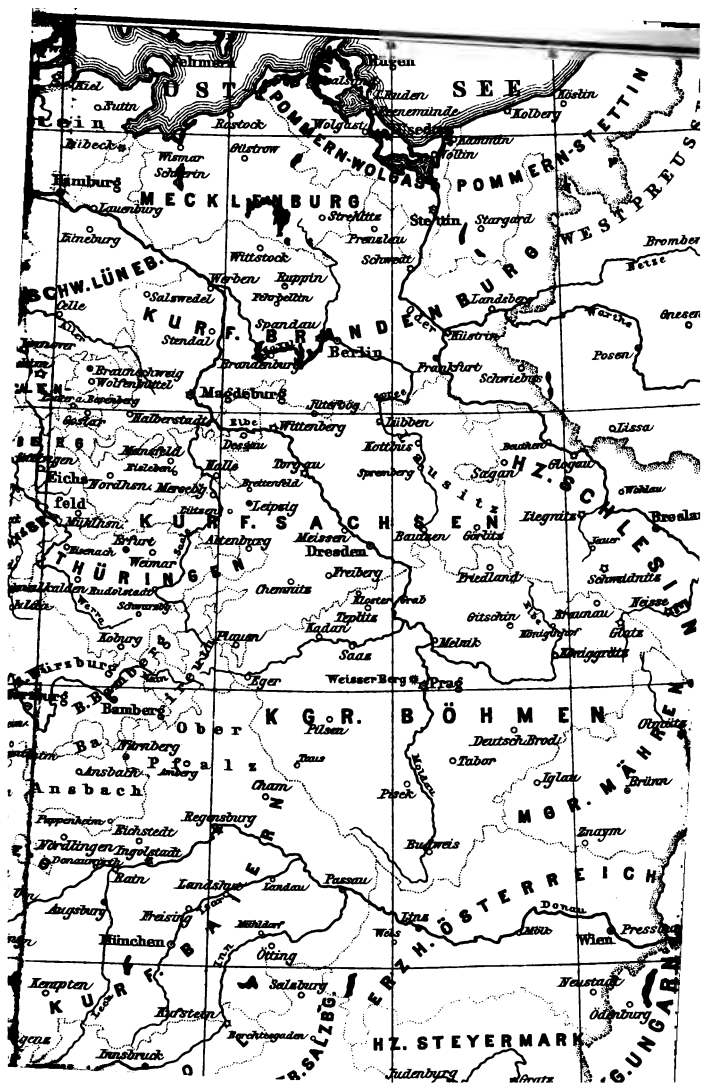
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German Empire.



## Abbreviations:

- KGR. - Königreich (Kingdom)
- KURF. - Kurfürstenthum (Electorate)
- ERZH. - Erzbischofthum (Archbishopric)
- HZ. - Herzogthum (Dukedom)
- MGR. - Markgrafschaft (Margraviate)
- EB. - Erzbischofthum (Archbishopric)
- B. - Bistum (Bishopric)







# SCHILLER'S WALLENSTEIN

## PART I

# DAS LAGER

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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## PREFACE

OF the very numerous authorities that must necessarily be consulted by an editor of 'Wallenstein' I have chosen a few, whose names will be found freely mentioned, as specially adapted for quotation, and accessible for reference. In questions of etymology I have chiefly followed *Weigand*.

It will be noticed that the Introduction is, to some extent, intended to serve as a preface to the whole Trilogy.

In the Notes I have endeavoured to give all necessary information, both historical and grammatical; and have been far less anxious to supply neat translation and elegant paraphrase (so irritating to the teacher and enervating for the learner) than to explain and illustrate the German idiom.

My best thanks for information and advice are due to various friends, especially to Herr Oberlehrer Israel and Fräulein Francke of Dresden, Dr. Schutz of Hanover, Professor E. Dowden, and to the Editor of this Series.

H. B. C.



## DATES.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>1517.</b> Luther's 95 Theses (Oct. 31).</p>                   | <p><b>1509-47.</b> Henry VIII. of England.</p>  |
| <p><b>1520-56.</b> Charles V.</p>                                   | <p><b>1516.</b> Ariosto's <i>Orlando Furioso</i>.</p>                                     |
| <p><b>1521.</b> Diet at Worms.</p>                                  | <p><b>1519.</b> Field of Cloth of Gold. Zwingli at Zürich.</p>                            |
|   | <p><b>1520.</b> <i>Raphael dies.</i></p>  |
|   | <p><b>1525.</b> Charles V. captures Francis I. at Pavia.</p>                              |
|   | <p><b>1529.</b> Peace of Cambrai. Charles V. crowned Emperor at Bologna.</p>              |
|   | <p>Fall of Wolsey.</p>  |
| <p><b>1530.</b> Diet at Augsburg. The 'Confession of Augsburg.'</p> |   |
| <p><b>1531.</b> Schmalkaldic League.</p>                            | <p><b>1531.</b> Zwingli dies.</p>   |
| <p><b>1532-47.</b> Joh. Friedrich, Elector of Saxony.</p>           |   |
| <p><b>1532.</b> The 'Religionsfriede' of Nürnberg.</p>              | <p><b>1534.</b> J. Calvin settles at Geneva.</p>  |
|   | <p><b>1540.</b> Order of Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyola.</p>                          |
|   | <p><b>1544.</b> Peace of Crespy (end of fourth war between Charles V. and Francis I.)</p> |
| <p><b>1545.</b> Luther dies (Feb. 18). Schmalkaldic War.</p>        |   |

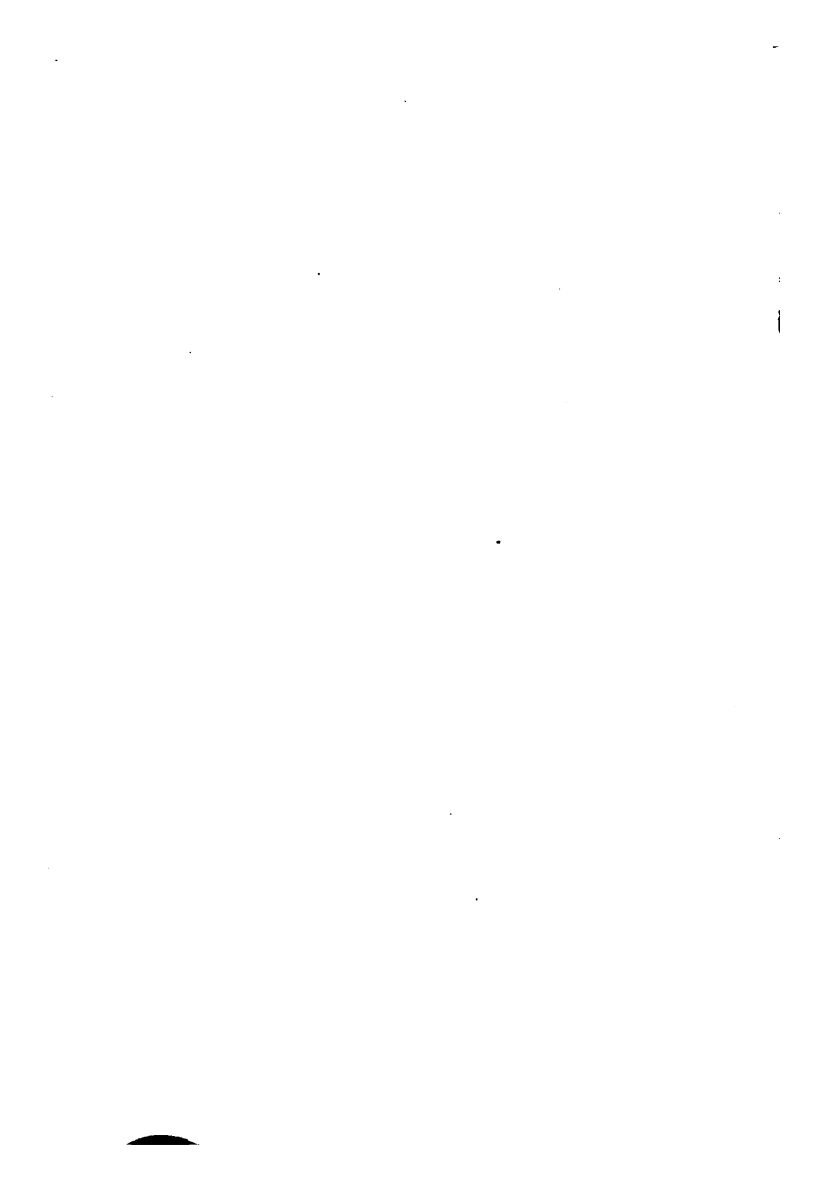
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- 1545.** Moritz of Saxony joins Charles V.  
**1546-63.** Council of Trent.  
**1547.** Charles captures the Elector of Saxony. Moritz made Elector.  
**1552.** Moritz revolts. Flight of Charles V. from Innsbruck.  
**The Passau Treaty.**  
  
**1555.** 'Religionsfriede' of Augsburg.  
**1556.** Charles V. abdicates.  
**1556-64. Ferdinand I. Emperor.**  
**1558.** Charles V. dies at St. Juste, in Spain.  
  
**1564-76. Maximilian II. Emperor.**  
  
  
**1576-1612. Rudolph II. Emperor.**  
**1581.** Declaration of Independence by the Netherlands.  
**1583. Wallenstein born** (Sept. 14).  
  
  
  
**1606.** Matthias Elected by Austria.
- 1547-53. Edward VI.**  
  
**1553-59. Mary.**  
**1554.** Mary marries Philip of Spain.  
  
**1556.** Cranmer burnt.  
**Philip II. of Spain.**  
  
**1558.** Calais lost.  
  
**1559-1603. Elizabeth.**  
**1560.** Melancthon dies.  
  
**1568.** Egmont and Hoorne executed (June 5).  
**1572.** Massacre of Huguenots (St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24).  
  
  
**1584.** Prince of Orange murdered.  
**1586.** *Shakespeare in London.*  
**1587.** Mary Stuart beheaded.  
**1588.** First Armada.  
**1590.** Spenser's *Faerie Queene.*  
**1597.** Second Armada.  
**1603-25. James I.**  
**1605.** Gunpowder Plot.

- 
1608. The **Union** founded by Friedrich V., Elector Palatine.
1609. The **Liga** founded by Maximilian of Bavaria. The Jülich-Cleve dispute. Bohemia receives the 'Majestätsbrief.'
- 1612-19. **Matthias Emperor.**
1613. Elector Palatine marries Princess Elizabeth of England.
1616. *Shakespeare dies.*
1617. Bacon Lord Keeper. Death of Raleigh.
- 1618-48. **Thirty Years' War.**
1618. The 'Prager Fenstersturz' (May 23).
- 1619-37. **Ferdinand II. Emperor.**
1620. Battle of the White Hill (Nov. 8).
1623. Maximilian made Elector.
1623. Prince Charles's journey to Madrid.
1625. Christian IV. of Denmark at head of Lower Saxon Federation.
- 1625-49. **Charles I.**
- Wallenstein's first Army.**
1626. Mansfeld defeated at the Bridge of Dessau. Christian IV. defeated at Lutter.
1628. **Siege of Stralsund.**
1629. 'Restitutionsedict' (March 6). Peace of Lübeck.
1630. Diet at Regensburg. **Wallenstein deposed.** Gustavus Adolphus lands.
1631. **Sack of Magdeburg** (May 20). Battle of **Breitenfeld** (Sept. 17). Gustavus Adolphus at Mainz.

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- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>1632. Wallenstein's second Army.</b><br/>         Affair by Nürnberg.<br/> <b>Battle of Lützen</b> (Nov. 16).</p> <p><b>1634. Wallenstein murdered at Eger</b> (Feb. 25).<br/>         Battle of <b>Nördlingen</b> (Nov. 6 and 7).</p> <p><b>1637-57. Ferdinand III. Emperor.</b></p> <p><b>1642. Tortenson victorious at Leipzig.</b></p> <p><b>1645. Turenne and Condé in Germany.</b></p> <p><b>1648. Peace of Westphalia.</b></p> | <p><b>1634. Milton's <i>Comus</i>.</b></p> <p><b>1638. Scotch Covenant.</b><br/>         Milton's <i>Lycidas</i>.</p> <p><b>1642. Battle of Edgehill.</b></p> <p><b>1643. Copernicus publishes his Theory.</b></p> <p><b>1644. Marston Moor and Newbury.</b><br/> <i>Tasso born.</i></p> <p><b>1648. Battle of Preston.</b></p> <p><b>1649. Charles I. beheaded</b> (Jan. 30).</p> |
|---|--|







## HISTORICAL SKETCH.

### 1.—The Origin and Character of the Thirty Years' War.

THE war in which Wallenstein took such a conspicuous part, and by which for thirty years Germany was desolated, was probably more inhuman and disastrous than any war ever waged. It is impossible to imagine anything more revolting than the scenes, described by contemporary records, of wholesale slaughter and devastation, of incredible atrocity, of lust and rapine, of murder and every conceivable crime,<sup>1</sup> wrought during these terrible years, nor anything more pitiable than the sufferings endured.

Through war, famine, and pestilence the land is said to have lost at that time more than three-fourths of its inhabitants. Innumerable villages and many towns utterly disappeared. Large and well-peopled tracts of country were repossessed by forests. In material<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amongst these frequent cannibalism. Dead bodies were dug up for this purpose; prisoners were slaughtered and devoured. 'In many places,' says the Duke of Mecklenburg in a letter to Gallas (1639), 'parents have eaten their children.' For a vivid picture of these times I would specially recommend Archbishop Trench's *Gustavus Adolphus and other Lectures*.

<sup>2</sup> The extraordinary contrast offered by our Wars of the Roses, which continued for twenty-one years, is worthy of notice. 'The

prosperity and population Germany was by this visitation thrown back two hundred years, so that it is only of late years that it has again reached the level at which it stood at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Nor did it suffer less relapse in what is perhaps still more important—in the sense of freedom and nationality.

Before reviewing that period of these thirty years with which our subject has special connection, it will be well to consider briefly the origin of the war, and to attempt to seek some explanation of the inextinguishable fury with which it raged.

Firstly, the Thirty Years' War was a *religious* war, a direct outcome of the Reformation. Moreover, it was no mere struggle for equal religious rights and mutual toleration. No less than Mahomet's wars it was a war of extermination waged by the adherents of an infallible creed against those whose claim for religious liberty involved a struggle for their very existence. The temporary sufferance at times enjoyed by the Protestants was wrested by them from their antagonists and held by force. 'With the sword,' says Schiller, 'the boundary between the two Churches had been marked out; with the sword it had to be guarded.' More than once it would have been possible for the champions of Papacy to have ended the war by imposing such conditions as would have secured their own political supremacy, while tolerating the existence of a rival creed; but in toleration they recognised nothing but the failure of the very cause for which they fought—the cause of intolerance. No wonder that again and again the war blazed forth from its ashes, till everything that could feed its flames was consumed.

But behind the antagonism of creeds lay another ruin and bloodshed were limited to the great lords and their feudal retainers. . . . Commerce went on unchecked, and indeed developed itself . . . more rapidly than at any former period.'—Green's *Hist. of the English People*.

cause. Many years before the great religious schism there had sprung up among the princes and estates of North Germany a deep-rooted suspicion of Imperialism. Although nominally feudals of the Empire, they had won, and still jealously guarded, a considerable political independence; and by them the endeavours of the papal party to re-establish the Roman religion were not more bitterly resented than the determination of the Imperialists to reduce all Germany to its former state of subjection to the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

And not only over Germany, but over all Protestant Europe, brooded still the fear of an universal Austro-Spanish Empire.

The vast armaments of Philip had indeed proved powerless against England; the seven revolted provinces of Holland and Zealand had won their independence, and had raised a bulwark of republican liberty against Spanish tyranny and the Inquisition with the same stubborn heroism with which they had set bounds to the might of the ocean. The Empire, too, was at the beginning of the seventeenth century no longer the vast Empire of Charles the Fifth. His brother Ferdinand had succeeded to the Austrian dominions, his son Philip to Spain, Flanders, Naples, and the Indies; and the imperial title,<sup>2</sup> shorn of much of its former might, had remained as an adjunct of the Austrian crown.

But while from other lands the shadow of this dreaded *Weltmonarchie* seemed to be passing, in Northern Germany it not only lingered but became from year to year more formidable. 'For half a century,' says Schiller, 'Germany stood sword in hand; every rustling leaf alarmed her.' Ever nearer the storm

<sup>1</sup> 'Ferdinand proposed nothing less than the extension of the Empire to its old limits.'—Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> That of *Römischer Kaiser* (*Romanorum Imperator*) which had been fused by Otto (962) with that of the German King.

gathered with ominous mutterings, till at last it burst forth with irresistible fury.

Such were the chief motives of the war. And yet was there ever a war in which all were solely actuated by the leading motives? Many side interests, some of them despicably selfish, had also here their influence. It will be enough to mention two flagrant examples, those of Saxony and of France—the former waging war as if in play, with only half a heart for the cause;<sup>1</sup> the latter, still reeking with the blood of the slaughtered Huguenots, advancing as ‘Champion of German liberty’ to ally herself with Protestantism, and to claim the lion’s share of the prey.<sup>2</sup>

If we consider the true nature of the Reformation—not its concrete form but the vital principle from which it originated—and realise how utterly abhorrent this principle was from the theory of Imperialism and Papacy, we shall better understand the extraordinary virulence of the war; for the cause of Protestantism was no mere question of dynasty or territory or national antipathy, for the sake of which mankind has so often bled and suffered, but a cause which to all but slaves and fanatics is dearer than life itself.

The Reformation was an appeal from the absolutism of constituted authority to the individual sense of right—a reassertion of the ideal against the material.

The universal Church—ideally a glorious conception—had ‘hardened into a government and degenerated into a hierarchy, and that which was originally a living principle had survived merely as a lifeless form’—a fate that seems inevitably to await all religions, and to which Protestantism itself quickly succumbed.

But the Reformation was not only a revolt against the infallibility of Roman dogma; it was an appeal to the

<sup>1</sup> Schiller’s *Lager*, l. 294.

<sup>2</sup> The successful issue of Richelieu’s immoral policy, continued by his successor Mazarin.

instincts of human nature against the absolutism of civil power. It introduced ideas of personal and political liberty which were necessarily subversive of the allegiance claimed by Pope or Emperor.

The Empire and the Church<sup>1</sup> were, in the opinion of all medieval Catholics, even such as Dante,<sup>2</sup> necessary complements of each other, and together formed that perfect system which alone was capable of securing man's temporal and eternal welfare.<sup>3</sup> The divine right of the Holy Roman Empire was questioned no more than that of the Papacy. In the fiercest contests of Guelph and Ghibelin that divine right had been only once denied—by that infamous Boniface, at the mere mention of whom Dante in *Paradise* saw all heaven blush.<sup>4</sup> As 'Head of Christendom,' as 'Defender and Advocate of the Christian Church,' the Emperor was, scarcely less than the Pope himself, an incarnation of Roman dogma.

Thus in this war Imperialism and Papacy were indissolubly allied in the 'attempt to crush out a spiritual movement by material and brutal force;'<sup>5</sup> but they found as closely united against them exactly those two principles that were the most bitterly antagonistic to their respective pretensions—the principles of religious and of political liberty.

Such were the combatants, and such were the causes for which they fought. Let us now trace in outline the

<sup>1</sup> See Bryce's chapter on the *Theory of the Medieval Empire*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Monarchia*, *passim*. Also—

'Soleva Roma, che 'l buon mondo feo,  
Duo Soli aver, che l'una and l'altra strada  
Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.

*Purg.* xvi. 106.

<sup>3</sup> 'Una est veritas : una erit ecclesia et unus solus princeps :'  
'As God, Creator of both soul and body, is One, so must Church and Empire be two in one.' Of such nature were the many arguments in favour of an universal Church and an universal Empire.

<sup>4</sup> *Par.* 27.

<sup>5</sup> Trench.

main course of events from the time of the Reformation, and consider what special events led up to and caused the outbreak of hostilities.

## 2.—The Great Feud to the Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

From the day (31st October 1517) on which Luther posted his Protest (the 95 Theses) on the door of Wittenberg Church until the time of his death (1546) the Reformation had not only spread with astonishing rapidity over North Germany, but—a fact that is perhaps seldom realised—it had gained an absolute supremacy in almost the whole of South Germany, with the exception of Bavaria and Tyrol.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics in Austria in the ratio of *thirty to one*—a ratio now reversed—while in Bohemia and Styria the state of things was not far different.

In 1530, to the Diet assembled at Augsburg had been presented by the Protestant princes the *Confession of Faith* (drawn up by Melancthon), which first formulated the new creed, and which still forms the basis of Lutheran orthodoxy.

In the next year the leaders of the Protestant party had assembled at Schmalkalden in Thüringen and signed a league (*Schmalkaldischer Bund*), which was renewed in 1537 for a second period of six years.

But scarcely had Protestantism by these measures effected its first religious and political organisation, when Catholicism, which till now seemed paralysed by the sudden advances of the foe, began to rally and to put forth its utmost powers.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin and Judah, as they were fondly called by the Jesuits.



The foundation of the Order of Jesuits in 1540 was one of the first successful moves that led to the Counter-reformation. The Jesuits in a short time gained an immense power and influence. They founded innumerable schools and colleges, and disseminated, both secretly and publicly, as confessors at the courts and professors at the universities, a fanatic zeal for the Roman Church. The Inquisition was revived, and by its murderous activity razed to the ground, if it could not extirpate, the outgrowths of heresy in Catholic lands. These successes were furthered by the crafty and energetic policy of the Vatican, and ere long the Council of Trent, which assembled in 1545 (about two months before Luther's death), launched the anathema of the Church against Protestantism, in response to the challenge of the Augsburg Confession.

While the tide of victory was thus turning in favour of Catholicism, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, having for the time erased heresy from the Netherlands with fire and sword, and having (with Henry of England) humiliated the French king, formed an alliance with the Pope, and turned his forces against the Protestantism of North Germany.<sup>1</sup> To his advance the pitiable disunion, jealousies, and tergiversations of the Protestant princes offered an easy road. The leaders of the Schmalkaldic League were banned and scattered. The young Duke Moritz of Saxony, at feud with his cousin the Elector of Saxony, traitorously joined the Emperor. In a short time the whole country was prostrate before Charles.<sup>2</sup> The Elector of Saxony (Johann Friedrich) was captured and put to death, and Moritz received the electoral dignity in his stead.

<sup>1</sup> The chief command under Charles was held by Alva, who later, under Philip II., gained such infamous notoriety in the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Except heroic Magdeburg, which later suffered such terrible reprisal.

Charles the Fifth seemed now to have accomplished in Germany<sup>1</sup> what it had been his aim to accomplish in all his dominions (indeed throughout the whole of Europe)—the establishment of an absolute despotism. But a sudden surprise was in store for him. Saxon treachery has won for itself in history an unenviable notoriety, but never did treachery more effectually further the better cause than when Moritz of Saxony, suddenly rising (1552) against the sovereign to whom he owed his electoral throne, swept like a storm-wind through Bavaria, and nearly succeeded in capturing Charles himself, 'as he lay at Innspruck,<sup>2</sup> fondly dreaming that his work was done, waiting the spring weather to cross to Trent, where the Catholic fathers had again met to settle the world's faith for it. . . . Charles rose<sup>3</sup> and fled southwards over the snows of the Brenner; then eastwards, under the blood-red cliffs of dolomite that wall in the Pusterthal, far away into the valley of Carinthia. The Council of Trent broke up in consternation; Europe saw, and the Emperor acknowledged, that in his fancied triumph over the spirit of revolution he had done no more than block up an irresistible torrent.'

By this event the balance of power was again restored, and in the same year a truce was concluded at Passau, a city on the confluence of the Inn and the Danube. This *Passauer Vertrag* was soon followed (25th September 1555) by the famous *Augsburger Religionsfriede*. The terms of this treaty allowed equal privileges to Catholics and Protestants, but only to such Protestants as recognised the Augsburg Confession;<sup>4</sup> princes had the right to establish the new religion in their territories, while those of their subjects who were unwilling to con-

<sup>1</sup> Müller's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*.

<sup>2</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Rose from a sick-bed and was carried in a litter.—(Müller.)

<sup>4</sup> This was specially directed against Calvinism, for religious schism was already disuniting the Protestant party.

form might leave the country. So far all seemed likely to secure a lasting peace. But a clause was inserted, on the instigation of Ferdinand of Austria, the future Emperor, which completely neutralised all other concessions, for it affected interests that unfortunately proved more momentous than even those of religious freedom. 'If it had been merely religious opinions!' exclaims Schiller<sup>1</sup>—'The question was one of revenues, dignities, privileges.'

This clause, known by the name of *Der geistliche Vorbehalt* (*reservatum ecclesiasticum*), was to the effect that in future 'any one holding immediately from the Empire any spiritual office, whether as elector, bishop, or abbot, should forfeit his benefices and his titles as soon as he joined the Protestant Church.'<sup>2</sup> After violent opposition it was inserted in the contract, 'with the express statement that the two parties had not come to an agreement on the point.'

The influence of this clause on the future course of events was most important; indeed we may well agree with Schiller when he speaks of it as the spark that kindled the Thirty Years' War. Accepted under formal protest, it was from the first openly violated. Was it to be expected that electors and prelates who left the Catholic Church would tamely renounce their seats in the Imperial Diet? or that a Protestant majority would eject a Reforming prince and elect a Catholic in his stead? 'In a short time,' says Schiller, 'the whole of North Germany was secularised.' Nor, indeed, even without this obnoxious clause, could the Augsburg Treaty have in reality proved more than a hollow truce.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesch. des 30jähr. Kr.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. des 30jähr. Kr.*, bk. i. He says of this clause: 'In diesem heiligen Anker ist noch bis heute die katholische Kirche in Deutschland befestigt. All church endowments were secularised during the period of the *Rheinbund*. At the present day all ecclesiastical elections have to be sanctioned by Government.'


‘All (adds Schiller) that the Lutherans received was sufferance. It was a compact between a liege lord and rebels.’ Even the Catholics were dissatisfied. They could recognise with heresy no compact that tolerated its existence. ‘By the Jesuits throughout all Germany it was represented as merely a temporary compromise, and at Rome it was (as later the Peace of Westphalia) solemnly repudiated.’

### 3.—From the Peace of Augsburg to the War, 1556–1618.

Though practically unrecognised by both parties, the *Augsburger Religionsfriede* was followed by a long period of peace. The great war, which seemed so imminent, was deferred yet for more than sixty years; wealth and population increased, agriculture and trade flourished, and but few signs were visible of the deep-seated evil that was rapidly spreading beneath the surface. As far as Germany itself is concerned, the actual events of this period, until the end of the century, are of small importance in regard to our subject, for, though the great contest was raging in other parts of Europe, almost the only share that the German princes took in it was as the instruments of foreign powers.

In 1556, the year after the Peace, Charles V. abdicated, and retired to the monastery of St. Juste in Spain, where, two years later, he died. His son, the blood-thirsty bigot Philip II., succeeded as King of Spain, where, with fiendish cruelty and an apathy towards suffering scarcely conceivable in a human being, he swept<sup>1</sup> heresy from the land by his *autos-da-fé*, while in

<sup>1</sup> See especially Motley (*Dutch Republic*, I. vi.) for an account of the terrible human sacrifices with which he celebrated his marriage.



the Low Countries the inhumanities of Alva and the Inquisition aroused the long struggle for liberty in which Hoorne and Egmont fell, and which ended, after the assassination of the noble William of Orange, in the establishment of a free Republic (1581). Allied with the Netherlands and with Henry IV. of France, Elizabeth of England continued the contest against Spanish ambition and bigotry, till, after the dispersion of the second Armada (1597), the power of Philip was broken, and the greatness of Spain destroyed—probably for ever. In the next year (1598) Philip died. Henceforth the direct influence of Spain in the contest for and against the world-monarchy is almost inappreciable.

Germany was fated to be the arena on which that contest should be finally decided.

Ferdinand I. of Austria, brother to Charles the Fifth, had succeeded to the imperial title. He was, though a good Catholic, no bigot, and it was to no small extent due to his influence and that of his successor Maximilian II. that peace was so long preserved. The latter, indeed,<sup>1</sup> was more than suspected of an intention to join the Protestant Church. He was probably deterred from the step by the fear that, breaking with Philip, he would expose himself to the ever-threatening Turkish invasion. Moreover, after the death of Don Carlos and until the birth of Philip's heir,<sup>2</sup> Maximilian probably had hopes of once more uniting Spain and Austria under his rule. He was succeeded by his son Rudolph II., a weak superstitious man, devoted to alchemy and astrology. By him the religious liberty that had been granted to the Protestants of Austria was annulled, and in many parts of Germany, chiefly through the activity of the Jesuits, Catholicism began once more to regain supremacy.<sup>3</sup> So

<sup>1</sup> See Ward's *House of Austria*. *Wien war damals fast ganz lutherisch.*—(Müller.)

<sup>2</sup> Philip III., son of Anne of Austria, his fourth wife.

<sup>3</sup> Notably at Köln, Aachen, Salzburg, and Strassburg.

weak and foolish was his rule that the Austrian princes at length determined to elect his brother Matthias as Regent, and the last six years of Rudolph's reign (1606-1612) were occupied by continual struggles against his rival (who seized Austria, Hungary, and Moravia), and are noticeable chiefly for the fact that, in order to gain the support of the Bohemian Protestants, he issued the celebrated *Majestätsbrief*, in which he guaranteed their religious liberty.

So stood matters at the end of the sixteenth century. Germany, as regards material prosperity and population, had never before reached so high a point. But internally there were at work agencies which were soon to work her overthrow. *Im Stillen wirkte vergiftend Haß, Verdacht, Verhetzung und Argwohn, und eine Ahnung kommenden schweren Unglückes, als wie der letzten Zeiten, von denen die Schrift weißagt, ging durch die Gemüther.*<sup>1</sup>

The new century began ominously. Ere its first decade had passed the two great factions had formally organised themselves into two hostile associations—the Protestant 'Union' and the Catholic and Imperial 'Liga.'

The 'Union' owed its origin to the Protestants of South Germany, who formed themselves (1608) into a defensive alliance against the aggressive bigotry and despotism of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.<sup>2</sup> This prince and Ferdinand of Styria (afterwards Emperor) were now the foremost champions of Catholicism. 'Better a desert than a land full of heretics' had been Ferdinand's maxim when he succeeded to his duchy, and in a short time every Lutheran Church in Styria was closed, and the mass was forcibly imposed on a population which was almost entirely composed of Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*.

<sup>2</sup> Later *Kurfürst*; see p. xxvii. His seizure of the free (*reichsfreie*) town Donauwörth was the actual *primum mobile* of the Union.

At the head<sup>1</sup> of the 'Union' placed himself Frederick IV., *Kurfürst of the Pfalz* (Elector Palatine). The 'Liga' was formed (1609) by Maximilian of Bavaria, and consisted chiefly of the Catholic princes and prelates of South Germany.

Thus both parties had, as it were, drawn up their forces for the battle. But during the next nine years no general engagement took place, although there were some unimportant collisions occasioned by a side question of succession,<sup>2</sup> which was settled without much bloodshed.

#### 4.—The War, 1618–1648.

##### (a) *Der böhmische Krieg.*

It will be remembered that the Emperor Rudolph II. had been dispossessed of Austria and Hungary by his brother Matthias. Before he died (1612) he lost also Bohemia, and after his death Matthias succeeded to his imperial title. At feud with the Protestants, and hard pressed in Hungary by the insurgent Bethlen Gabor, Matthias determined to strengthen his position by choosing (being childless) his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as his successor. By large concessions to the Protestant party, and by confirming the *Majestätsbrief*, granted by Rudolph, he secured Ferdinand's election as his successor, not only in Austria but even in Bohemia.

The *Majestätsbrief* had transformed Bohemia into a kind of republic. The Emperor had retained little more than the shadow of his territorial authority.<sup>3</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> The South German princes and Frederick, the founders of the Union, were Calvinists. This alone is enough to account for the lukewarm support that it received and the jealousies that caused its dissolution.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* to the inheritance of Jülich and Kleve.

<sup>3</sup> Schiller, *30jähr. Kr.*

was represented at this time by ten imperial counsellors<sup>1</sup> or vicegerents, of whom the majority were Catholics, and several of whom were exceedingly obnoxious to the Protestant Bohemians. Disturbances occurred soon after Ferdinand's election, and a church<sup>2</sup> was demolished by the Catholics. When this was reported to Matthias he not only refused to listen to the complaints of the Protestants, but threatened them with punishment for sedition; whereupon, led by Count Matthias Thurn, they assembled at Prag to assert their rights (1618).

'On the 23d of May,' says Schiller, 'the deputies, armed and numerously attended, appeared before the palace and forced their way impetuously into the council-chamber where the vicegerents Sternberg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slawata were assembled. With threatening tones they demanded of each whether he had anything to do with the Emperor's despatch, and whether he had voted for it. Sternberg received them with quiet dignity; Martinitz and Slawata answered defiantly. This settled their fate. Sternberg and Lobkowitz, who were less hated and more feared, were led by the arm out of the room; then Slawata and Martinitz were seized, dragged to a window, and thrown down eighty feet into the palace moat. The secretary Fabricius, a creature of these two, was sent after them. At such a strange mode of executing justice all the civilised world wondered—as was natural; but the Bohemians excused it as a custom of their country, and found nothing wonderful in the whole occurrence, except that one should fall from such a height without being hurt. A dung-heap, on which their imperial vicegerentships happened to alight, had saved them from injury.'

Thirty directors were chosen in their stead; the Jesuits were expelled; a large army was raised, which, after hurling back several incursions of the Imperialists, pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Reichsräte*. Schiller calls them *Statthalter*, vicegerents.

<sup>2</sup> At Klostergrab near Teplitz.



ceeded to invade Austria. When in the next year (1619) the Emperor Matthias died Ferdinand found himself in a most unenviable predicament. Count Thurn and his Bohemians were almost at the gates of Vienna; from Hungary the insurgent Bethlen Gabor threatened invasion, and at home the Austrian nobles were in a state of open rebellion, claiming a free constitution and alliance with Bohemia. By the indecision of Count Thurn at this critical time an opportunity was lost of capturing Ferdinand and of ending the war. While he delayed a small troop of 500 cuirassiers entered Vienna to protect Ferdinand, who had already sent his children for safety to Tyrol, and was meditating flight. The devotion of his soldiers aroused the loyalty of the Catholic citizens, and in a short time he was surrounded by a large and determined force. At this juncture the news of reverses nearer home induced Count Thurn to break up his camp and return to Bohemia.

Freed from these dangers Ferdinand hastened to Frankfurt, and was there elected Emperor. As King of Bohemia he had an electoral vote; the three ecclesiastical electors were naturally in his favour, and Lutheran Saxony and Brandenburg were, no less naturally, found on the side of the majority. The young Frederick V., Elector Palatine, son-in-law of our James I., alone had the courage to oppose Ferdinand's claims—an act that later cost him his electorship, though it was presently rewarded by a kingly title; for the festivities at Frankfurt were not yet ended when the news arrived that Bohemia had rejected Ferdinand as its sovereign, and not long afterwards Frederick was elected in his stead.

The ensuing struggle was short and decisive. Frederick, a staunch Calvinist, owed his kingdom to the Calvinistic party in Bohemia. To the Lutheran Protestants he turned in vain for assistance. Saxony was in understanding with Ferdinand, while the Calvin-

istic Union came to terms with the Liga. Under Count Thurn and Ernst von Mansfeld—one an incapable leader and the other a reckless adventurer—the Bohemians were driven back on Prag by the troops of Maximilian of Bavaria, under the command of Tilly;<sup>1</sup> and, on the ‘White Hill,’ at a short distance from the city, they suffered a crushing defeat (November 8, 1620). On the same night Frederick fled; Prag surrendered, and the country was handed over by Maximilian to the mercies of the Emperor. Ferdinand, who had meantime stamped out Protestant sedition in Austria, dealt savagely with the Bohemians. The *Majestätsbrief* was torn to fragments; twenty-four of the chief Protestant leaders were decapitated in the market-place of Prag; thousands were driven into exile; all churches, universities, and schools were given over to the Jesuits. Both here and in Austria Protestantism received a blow, from which it has never recovered. Thus ended the first act of the great war.

(b) *Der Krieg in der Pfalz und in Niedersachsen.*

The Lutherans of Saxony and Brandenburg had witnessed the overthrow of Bohemian Calvinism with indifference, if not with a malicious joy. The Saxon Elector<sup>2</sup> had even taken the opportunity to occupy the Lausitz, a province on his eastern frontier, hoping to retain it as the price of neutrality. Ferdinand’s power, therefore, in his own dominions was securely re-established; but his unbounded ambition and his desire for revenge led him to an act which aroused again in North Germany the dread of the world-monarchy, although through cowardice or self-interest it met at first with little open opposition. By an unprecedented stretch of prerogative he deprived Frederick V. of his Electorship,

<sup>1</sup> See note on l. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Johann Georg. For his character see on l. 290.

and bestowed it on Maximilian of Bavaria.<sup>1</sup> Though alarmed by this act of despotic audacity, but few of his fellow-Protestants sided with Frederick. Mansfeld, after the battle of the 'White Hill,' had for a time held Pilsen in Bohemia, and now, together with the gallant Prince-bishop of Halberstadt, Christian of Brunswick, made a short but unsuccessful stand against Tilly in the Pfalz; but it was soon overrun by the forces of the Liga and by Spanish troops from the Netherlands, and Frederick once more fled from his dominions and sought refuge in Holland.

While his son-in-law was thus being hunted from throne and home James I. of England, to whom he naturally turned for support, had been courting an alliance with Spain. In the same year (1623) that Frederick lost his land and electorship, Charles, Prince of Wales, undertook his foolish journey to Madrid in quest of a bride, which earned him and England so much ridicule.<sup>2</sup> Although his subsequent marriage with Henrietta of France was meant as a retort to this insult and a challenge to Spain and Austria, neither Charles nor his father took any noteworthy part in the war.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Wähler, die Sieben* of the Electoral College (mentioned as already of immemorial antiquity in a letter of Pope Urban IV. in 1265) were determined by the 'Golden Bull' of Charles IV. in 1356. These *Kurfürsten* were—the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Köln, the King of Bohemia (cupbearer), the Pfalzgraf (seneschal), Duke of Saxony (marshal), and the Markgraf of Brandenburg (chamberlain). See Schiller's ballad 'Der Graf von Habsburg.' The Duke of Bavaria, being related to the Count Palatine (Pfalzgraf), was excluded, as it was thought dangerous to have two electors in one family. After the peace of Westphalia the Pfalzgraf was reinstated as eighth *Kurfürst*, Bavaria retaining the seventh place. Leopold I., in 1692, conferred a ninth electorship on the house of Brunswick, to which Hanover then belonged. Hence the dignity was claimed by English sovereigns. Napoleon made some sweeping changes in the Electorate. The last who retained the empty title was the *Kurfürst* of Hessen Cassel, whose territories were annexed to Prussia in 1866.

<sup>2</sup> See Green's *Short History*, p. 479.

It was during these campaigns in the Pfalz that the terrible practice first became prevalent of allowing an army to support itself by plunder.<sup>1</sup> The advantages of this system were speedily recognised by the bandit chiefs (for this they really were), who, during the remainder of the war, led their desolating hordes over the whole of Germany. It mattered nothing whether the land was that of friend or of foe; nor was it merely that supplies were requisitioned; towns and villages were sacked and looted by these 'armies,' and by bands of marauders<sup>2</sup> which, encouraged by their example, devastated the country; treasure was extorted by the most hideous tortures,<sup>3</sup> and every enormity was practised. A great sum of money (*Brandschatz*, as it was called) was often paid by towns, and too often paid in vain, to save them from utter annihilation by fire.

After the flight of the Pfalzgraf Frederick a general advance of all the Catholic forces was made on the northern strongholds of Protestantism. From the Pfalz the Spanish troops moved against Holland, while Tilly and his *Liguisten* marched into Westphalia, and at the same time a newly raised imperial army was pressing northwards towards the Weser. The Union had ere this been dissolved, and the triumph of the universal Empire seemed inevitable in Germany. In this extremity the princes of Lower Saxony<sup>4</sup> appealed to the King of

<sup>1</sup> This word was introduced into English during the Thirty Years' War.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig was sacked five times, Magdeburg eight times, during the war. One village is said to have been looted twenty-eight times in two years.

<sup>3</sup> Among these the infamous 'Swedish drink.' See Trench, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Der niedersächsische Kreis*. Obersachsen consisted, roughly speaking, of Electoral Saxony (*Kursachsen*), Thüringen, the Harz district, and Brandenburg; Niedersachsen comprised Holstein, Mecklenburg, and other provinces of the great northern plain as far west as the Weser.

Denmark, Christian IV., who, although hitherto hostile to constitutional liberty and an oppressor of the free Hanseatic towns, actuated probably by jealousy of Sweden, placed himself at the head of the confederates,<sup>1</sup> and came forward to do battle for the Protestant cause.

He found opposed to him not only Tilly but an 'imperial' army of some 30,000 men.

For some time the Emperor had viewed with envy and jealousy the successes of Maximilian's general and the Liga. Doubtless, too, he contemplated some vast schemes of conquest by which he should extend his empire beyond the limits of Germany. But his own resources were completely exhausted, and he had accepted eagerly an offer made by one of his most powerful subjects to 'levy an army and to maintain it at his own expense and at the expense of his friends, if it might reach the number of 50,000.'<sup>2</sup>

Albrecht Waldstein or Wallenstein,<sup>3</sup> Fürst of Friedland, was the man who made this offer. Ferdinand assigned him certain recruiting centres in Bohemia, and allowed him the right of granting commissions. In a few months 20,000 men were on the march northwards, maintained not indeed 'at his expense and that of his friends,' but by the pillage of the lands through which they passed. Attracted by the fame of Wallenstein, and still more by the hope of booty or military distinction, adventurers from all quarters flocked to his standard, and ere he reached the scene of war another 10,000 had been added to his numbers.

During 1625 no decisive action took place. Tilly had stationed himself in Westphalia and Wallenstein in

<sup>1</sup> As Dukes of Holstein the Danish kings were members of the lower Saxon Circle. The attempt of Christian IX. to incorporate Schleswig Holstein into the Danish kingdom caused its annexation by Prussia in 1866.

<sup>2</sup> Schiller, *30jähr. Kr.* The army reached 100,000 before his first deposition.

<sup>3</sup> See remarks, p. xli. *sg.*

Eichsfeld, a district south of the Harz. At Hameln, on the Weser, King Christian was thrown from his horse, and returned for a time to Denmark. The armies meanwhile occupied themselves with devastating the country.

In the spring of 1626 Christian of Denmark reappeared with fresh troops that he had levied by means of English and Dutch subsidies. To the west his ally, Christian of Brunswick, was stationed with his army facing Tilly's forces in Westphalia, while Mansfeld<sup>1</sup> held the left position in Anhalt near the Elbe.

Wallenstein now made a sudden advance against Mansfeld, and having routed him at the Bridge of Dessau, followed him through the Lausitz, Silesia, and Moravia into Hungary. Here Mansfeld, after unsuccessfully attempting to treat with the insurgent Bethlen Gabor, dismissed the remnant of his army, and endeavoured to reach Venice; aber auf der Reise starb er, wild und trotzig, wie er gelebt, indem er sich den Panzer anlegen ließ, und stehend, von Freunden gestützt, den Tod erwartete.<sup>2</sup>

While Wallenstein was thus pursuing Mansfeld, Tilly had surprised and completely defeated King Christian at Lutter by the Barenberg, a north-western slope of the Harz mountains.

In 1627 Wallenstein and Tilly joined their forces in Mecklenburg, and, advancing northwards through Holstein and Schleswig and Jutland, drove the Danish forces before them until they fled for refuge to the islands.

It has been urged by not a few modern writers<sup>3</sup> that Wallenstein in his later dealings with the Emperor and with the enemy was actuated by a sincere desire

<sup>1</sup> After being driven from the Pfalz he had betaken himself and his forces to Holland, but proving a scourge to the country instead of a support had been ejected thence.

<sup>2</sup> Müller.

<sup>3</sup> Foremost among them the venerable historian Ranke, who died in 1866.

for peace. Such an explanation can at all events not be given of his action at this time. The whole of Northern Germany and Denmark lay prostrate before him; but, intoxicated by success, he seems to have formed the most extravagant schemes of further conquest—schemes that doubtless Ferdinand was ready enough to second. The remnants of the Hanseatic fleets were to be united with a fleet from Spain, the Danes were to be dislodged from their islands, the Netherlands were to be reduced, and the empire of the Habsburgs was to be extended beyond the Northern Sea; his presumption aimed at nothing less than the conquest of Sweden, and doubtless of England also. Meantime his personal ambition was gratified by the dukedom of Mecklenburg<sup>1</sup> and the high-sounding title of ‘Admiral of the Baltic and the German Ocean.’

These ambitious projects were first checked by the heroic resistance of a single town—Stralsund—situate on the narrow strait that separates Rügen from the mainland. ‘This town,’ says Schiller, ‘the sixth in the Hanse Confederation, enjoyed under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania most important privileges, and till now it had taken not the slightest share in the war.’ From its position and the strength of its natural defences (for it is completely surrounded by water) Stralsund appeared necessary to Wallenstein as a port and emporium for his future fleet. In spite of its neutrality he blockaded it from the land. But it had free access to the open sea, and defied all his efforts, though he is said to have vowed to capture it ‘were it bound to heaven by chains.’<sup>2</sup>

The resistance of Stralsund is especially noteworthy, because it gave occasion for the first interference of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years’ War. The

<sup>1</sup> Its two dukes had been ejected. Wallenstein received it nominally in pawn for money lent to Ferdinand.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lager*, l. 604.

fate which had overtaken Denmark and which threatened Sweden caused the kings of these two countries to lay aside their mutual jealousies and to combine against the common foe. A treaty was signed at Copenhagen in the spring of 1628, and shortly afterwards reinforcements under a Swedish commandant entered the port of Stralsund and appeared on the ramparts to oppose the desperate assaults of the besiegers. On 24th July, having lost 12,000 men in his vain attempt, Wallenstein raised the siege.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor Ferdinand was at this time in great difficulties. His treasury was exhausted, and he was scarcely able to cope with the ever-increasing discontent of his Protestant subjects. Ere this he had sent orders to Wallenstein to desist from the siege of Stralsund—a command that was entirely disregarded—and now he insisted strongly on peace with Denmark. Wallenstein, incensed at the interference of Gustavus and anxious to dissolve the alliance between the Danes and Swedes, made offers of peace to Christian, which that prince faithlessly accepted. A peace was concluded at Lübeck (12th May 1629), in which no mention was made of Sweden. Denmark was restored to its king under the condition that he should interfere no more in German affairs.

Thus once more was presented to Ferdinand an opportunity of ending this destructive war. But even before the peace had been signed by Denmark fanaticism and ambition<sup>2</sup> again overmastered him. Yielding to the demands of Maximilian and the Liga, in opposition to the urgent advice of Wallenstein, he issued an 'Edict of Restitution,' to enforce the restoration of all endowments

<sup>1</sup> The day is still kept in Stralsund as a *Volksfest*. The town belonged to Sweden till 1815, when it was given over to Prussia.

<sup>2</sup> Schiller states that the Peace of Lübeck restored Ferdinand's self-confidence. But the Edict was issued on 6th March, two months before peace was concluded.



appropriated by the Protestants since the Treaty of Passau (1552).<sup>1</sup>

The *Restitutionsedict* not only threatened thousands<sup>2</sup> with present ruin; it demanded in set terms the annihilation of Calvinism. In future no Protestants except the Lutherans (who had indeed earned this ignominy) were to be tolerated in the Empire, and it was very evident that even this toleration was merely a temporary compromise. Calvinists and Lutherans alike felt that submission meant the extermination of their religion, and, though at present crushed and powerless, they were determined to wage the contest to the bitter end.

Two things now happened that gave them new courage: jealousies disunited and weakened their adversaries, and a mighty helper appeared in the lists to do battle for Protestantism.

The zeal with which Wallenstein advocated the cause of Ferdinand had excited the probably just suspicion that he 'designed some sudden stroke that would transform the Empire into an Austrian military despotism.'<sup>3</sup> This by no means accorded with the policy of Maximilian and the other princes of the Liga. In France, too, Richelieu began to be alarmed at the growing power of Austria, and attempted a combination with Bavaria. The storm soon burst. At a Diet held at Regensburg in 1630 Wallenstein was denounced by the assembled princes, who insisted that he should be deposed, and that half his army should be handed over to Tilly; and the Emperor, who was anxious to secure the election of his son Ferdinand as his successor, yielded to their demands. Although incensed at the loss of his dukedom

<sup>1</sup> Not since the *Augsburger Religionsfriede*, as Schiller states. It cannot therefore be looked upon as merely an enforcement of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.

<sup>2</sup> The possessors, together with their dependants, of 'two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, a countless number of monasteries, and the properties of 6000 noblemen.'

<sup>3</sup> Trench.

of Mecklenburg and his princely title—for of these he was also deprived—Wallenstein received the news of his dismissal with a semblance of quiet dignity. ‘The Emperor is betrayed,’ he calmly replied. ‘I pity him, but I forgive him.’ His ready submission and his seeming indifference were due partly to his fatalism—for ‘he had read in the stars how the spirit of the Bavarian was dominating the spirit of the Emperor’<sup>1</sup>—and partly to his knowledge of impending events, which forecast for him an early restitution to power.

Accompanied by many of his officers he retired to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia, where he lived in more than regal state,<sup>2</sup> awaiting the day when Ferdinand should appeal to him for succour—a day that was nearer than perhaps he himself suspected; for a new and formidable foe had already appeared. On 6th July 1630 Gustavus Adolphus landed with an army of 13,000 men at the mouth of the Peene, some thirty miles south of Stralsund, and shortly afterwards occupied Stettin, the capital of Pomerania. For some time, and especially since the siege of Stralsund in 1628, he had contemplated this campaign, but had feared the hostility of Poland, whose king Sigismund laid claim to the Swedish crown. An agreement, however, had been effected, chiefly through the mediation of Richelieu, who zealously encouraged this fresh adversary of Austrian Imperialism.

As a champion of Protestantism Gustavus Adolphus naturally expected to be eagerly welcomed and supported by the North German princes. In this he was disappointed, and while he vainly sought allies the forces of the Liga under Tilly rapidly approached. But, nothing daunted, the Swedish king after capturing Frankfurt-on-the-Oder advanced into the heart of Brandenburg with the

<sup>1</sup> These words are attributed to him.

<sup>2</sup> See Schiller's description of his magnificence (*30jähr. Kr.*, bk. ii.) He spent most of this period at Gitschin, in Bohemia.

intention of persuading or forcing the Elector<sup>1</sup> to form alliance with him. 'What sort of thing is neutrality? I do not understand it,' he exclaimed to the envoys from that prince; and pressing onward 'with cannon loaded and matches burning' he entered Berlin.

But he came too late to avert a terrible catastrophe. During the whole winter Magdeburg, under the ban of the Empire for resisting the Edict of Restitution, had been besieged by Pappenheim, a general of the Liga, and later by Tilly himself. Gustavus had in vain implored help for the ill-fated city from the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; ere he reached Berlin Magdeburg had fallen (20th May 1631). The scenes of bloodshed and atrocity that ensued have made the sack of Magdeburg 'a horror not forgotten among all the horrors of the world.'<sup>2</sup> 'The whole city except the cathedral and a few fisher-huts sank in ashes; of its 35,000 inhabitants barely 5000 crept forth alive, but as living corpses, from their hiding-places.'<sup>3</sup>

Gustavus now crossed the Elbe to the north of Magdeburg and took up a strong position by Werben, where he was joined by the Prince of Hessen Cassel. Tilly attacked him, but, being repulsed, marched into Saxony to coerce the Elector, who, alarmed by the fall of Magdeburg, was at last contemplating an alliance with the Swedish king. But he came too late; the Saxons and Swedes joined armies at Düben, and routed him at Breitenfeld near Leipzig (17th September 1631). Now, at length, Protestant Germany recognised Gustavus as its saviour. Almost unopposed by the scattered forces of the enemy, and enthusiastically welcomed by the princes and peoples of the countries through which he

<sup>1</sup> Georg Wilhelm, his brother-in-law, a weak vacillating 'peace-at-any-price' individual, who (as Carlyle says) 'hoped by dexterous skipping to escape his share of the game, while Titans were hurling rocks at one another.'

<sup>2</sup> Trench.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*.

passed, he marched in triumph westwards till he reached Mainz on the Rhine. Here he took up winter quarters, and, after the arrival from Sweden of his queen, Eleonora, held high festival with his court, receiving the homage and adulation of princes and envoys from all parts of north and central Germany.<sup>1</sup> In the spring (1632) he drove Tilly out of Franconia, and after occupying Nürnberg, advanced against Bavaria. While contesting with him the passage of the Lech Tilly was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, and died at Ingolstadt. Augsburg received the victor with open arms, and Munich surrendered at discretion. The road to Vienna seemed open to him.

He stood now at the zenith of his power, and the magnificent prospect seems to have presented itself to his imagination of an Empire which should unite Sweden and Germany under his rule. But his extraordinary successes had already aroused jealousy among his allies. The Saxon Elector, whose general, Arnheim, had invaded Bohemia, had begun to coquet once more with Austria, while France, eagerly as it had urged and seconded this campaign of Gustavus, viewed with annoyance and alarm the sudden growth of his power and his presence on the Rhine.

Moreover, though the forces of the Liga had been dispersed and their commander killed, another and more formidable army had suddenly sprung into existence. After the defeat of Tilly at Breitenfeld the Emperor had vainly appealed to the one man from whom he could look for help. Brooding over schemes of revenge and ambition, Wallenstein, since his deposition, had lived in retirement, and it is more than suspected that during this period he had made unsuccessful overtures to Gustavus Adolphus,<sup>2</sup> and had through his intrigues with

<sup>1</sup> 'They make a god of me : God will punish me for this,' he is said to have exclaimed.

<sup>2</sup> This is disputed by some authorities, while others impute to him noble motives for the act. In the present volume it is unnecessary to discuss the question.

Saxony caused the invasion of Bohemia. To the first appeal of Ferdinand he turned a deaf ear; but at the close of the year he yielded with seeming reluctance to the urgent entreaties of Questenberg and other of his friends, and undertook to raise an army in three months, on the condition that his command of it should cease as soon as it was ready for service—a condition which, as he well foresaw, enabled him to impose his own terms on the Emperor: for who could lead this vast bandit horde but its natural chief? These terms secured him the absolute and independent command of the army,<sup>1</sup> and the right to treat with the enemy, while his services were to be rewarded by the restoration to him of the dukedom of Mecklenburg.

After driving the Saxons out of Bohemia Wallenstein marched westwards, joined Maximilian at Eger, and, advancing on Nürnberg, to which city the Swedish army had retreated, took up a strong position. For two months both generals endeavoured in vain to provoke an attack, till at last Gustavus, pressed by famine and disease, made (4th September 1632) a desperate attempt to storm the almost impregnable heights occupied by the Imperialists. The assault was repelled with immense loss, and the Swedish king, wishing to remove the seat of war farther south, made a diversion towards the Danube.

Wallenstein did not follow him. He returned to Saxony with his devastating hordes, and was about to take up winter quarters at Leipzig, and had already dismissed his cavalry to Westphalia, when he was surprised<sup>2</sup> by the sudden approach of the Swedes. A bloody battle took place (16th November 1632) on the plain of Lützen, some fifteen miles south-west of Leipzig. After

<sup>1</sup> See *Lager*, l. 846.

<sup>2</sup> Pappenheim, with his cavalry, 10,000 strong, had been already sent to Westphalia, but he returned in time to fight and fall at Lützen.

some hours of undecisive conflict Gustavus Adolphus was shot in the arm, and while attempting to retire from the battle unobserved by his men he received a second bullet in the back, fell from his horse, and 'pierced by several more shots expired under the murderous hands of the Croats.'<sup>1</sup>

Enraged at the loss of their king the Swedes rushed furiously on the enemy, and would have swept all before them had not the sudden appearance of Pappenheim and his cuirassiers (returned in hot haste from Halle) turned again the tide of battle. When night fell both armies still held their ground; but although reinforced by six fresh regiments Wallenstein retreated in haste into Leipzig, leaving on the field of battle his dead and wounded and all his artillery. He himself had escaped with his life as if by miracle, his cloak and mantle having been pierced by several bullets.<sup>2</sup> Pappenheim, who was brought wounded to Leipzig, died there on the following day.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus the command of his army was entrusted to Bernhard Duke of Weimar, while the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, undertook the conduct of state affairs during the minority of Christina, the late king's daughter, now a child of six years.

The behaviour of Wallenstein after his retreat from Leipzig is difficult to explain. Various motives, both base and noble, have been attributed to him by historians. These will be discussed when Schiller's treatment of his character in the drama itself is under consideration. For our present subject it will be enough to sketch briefly the last scenes of his strange life.

Till the next summer (1633) he remained inactive in Bohemia, living in great magnificence, while his wild

<sup>1</sup> This is Schiller's account. There are various other versions. The great granite block (now covered by a roof), near which the body of the king was found, is still called the *Schwedenstein*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lager*, l. 355.

soldiery ravaged the country. Then he made an expedition to Silesia, where a large army of Swedes, Saxons, and Brandenburgers had collected. These he surrounded, and could have annihilated or taken prisoners, but he let them escape, and, having returned to Bohemia, began to make overtures to the Saxon Elector. During the summer Regensburg, which had been occupied by Maximilian, and was looked upon as a stronghold of the Empire,<sup>1</sup> was captured by Bernhard of Weimar. Wallenstein, who was sent by the Emperor to its relief, set out thither, but scarcely had he crossed the Bohemian frontier when he ordered his army to return—possibly offended at the interference of Ferdinand. It is certain that at this time he was in correspondence with France, Sweden, and Saxony—whether for a treasonable object, or with the desire of securing peace and ending the war, it is almost impossible to say. It must, at least, be remembered that, according to the conditions granted by the Emperor, he was entirely justified in treating with the enemy. But at the Imperial Court of Vienna there was a large and influential party, composed to a great extent of Jesuits, bitterly hostile to his interests, and it became more and more apparent that Ferdinand had determined to rid himself of the man to whom, in the hour of peril, he had made such dangerous concessions.

Wallenstein, aware of the coming danger, and conscious that his only safety lay in anticipating it by an audacious policy, appealed to his army. He summoned his chief officers to Pilsen, where he lay encamped, and obtained their signatures to a document in which they promised not to desert him. But several, and among them three of his generals—Gallas, Aldringer, and Piccolomini—proved faithless to him, and reported the state of things to the Emperor. This was the opportunity for which Ferdinand was waiting. He at once threw off all disguise, and issued a ban against Wallen-

<sup>1</sup> *Lager*, l. 495, *Das Bollwerk des Bayerlands*.

stein and his chief supporters—his brother-in-law Terzky (Terschka), Ilow, and Kinsky.

Thus threatened Wallenstein proceeded to open revolt. He opened negotiations with Bernhard of Weimar, who undertook to send Swedish cavalry to Eger, a Bohemian town near the frontier, and he set out thither with the five regiments that still remained loyal to him.<sup>1</sup> Here, shortly after his arrival, a plot was formed against him by several of his own officers,—two of Irish and one of Scotch extraction,—Butler, Gordon, Leslie, Deveroux and others, who determined to execute the imperial warrant. After Terzky and the other outlawed officers had been foully butchered at a banquet, Deveroux forced his way into Wallenstein's bed-chamber. He found him standing there in his night-dress, dazed and defenceless—for he had hastily risen from bed. 'Art thou the villain,' exclaimed the assassin, 'who would lead over to the enemy the Emperor's troops, and snatch the crown from his head? Thou must die!' Wallenstein uttered no word in reply, but proudly extending his arms offered his breast to the fatal thrust of the partisan, and fell dead.

The war was but half finished at the time of Wallenstein's death. For nearly fifteen years<sup>2</sup> more Germany was 'tortured, torn to pieces, wrecked, brayed as in a mortar under the iron mace of war.' A few months after the murder of Wallenstein, the Swedes, commanded by Bernhard of Weimar, were defeated at Nördlingen, not far from Donauwörth, but they retrieved their losses under new leaders—Bannér, Wrangel, and Torstenson. Once more (1642) the blood-stained plain of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, was the scene of a desperate conflict, in which Torstenson routed the imperial forces under Piccolomini. Then, having swept the Danes (as Wallen-

<sup>1</sup> Arnheim also set out from Dresden to meet him at Eger.

<sup>2</sup> From 25th February 1634 to 24th October 1648. See *Procl.* 1. 80. The war lasted thirty years and five months.



stein had done before) from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, he returned to Bohemia, won a battle at Jankow, (1645), and advanced to the gates of Vienna.

In the meantime the French, under Turenne and Condé, had combined with the western Swedish forces, and had overrun Bavaria. At length Maximilian and the Emperor Ferdinand III., son and successor of Ferdinand II., recognised the hopelessness of their cause, and the Peace of Westphalia was signed on the 24th October 1648.

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In order that the hero of Schiller's drama may be compared with the historical Wallenstein it may be necessary in an Introduction to the Drama to give a detailed account of his life, and to state fully the various views that are taken of his character and of the motives by which he was actuated. For the *Lager* this is not necessary. The following facts, together with what has already been related, and with what will be found in the notes (see especially on *Lager*, ll. 457, 611, 846, 859, 862), will be sufficient.

Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius Wallenstein (from the Bohemian pronunciation of the original name 'Waldstein,' viz. 'Walsteina') was born on the 14th or 15th September 1583 at Hermanic (Germ. Hermanitz) on the Upper Elbe. His father Wilhelm v. Waldstein was the descendant of an old Bohemian (Czech) family which took its name from the Bergschloss Waldstein, near Turnau (south-east of Reichenbach, near the Riesengebirge). Both Wilhelm v. Waldstein and his wife Katharina (or Margarethe) Smirricky (or Slawata) were Protestants. The boy, as his parents were poor, was at first placed under the care of his mother's brother, but was later transferred to the charge of another uncle, Johann v. Ricam, who, being a zealous Catholic, sent

him to the Jesuit College at Olmütz in Moravia. Here he is said to have been converted to Catholicism by his tutor Puchta. The fact that he was after this a student at Altdorf University has been doubted, but is accepted by Ranke as at least possible (see on *Lager*, l. 457). In 1604 he is said (though this is also questioned) to have been a page to the Markgraf of Burgau. It is affirmed—though this is doubtless *eine reine Sage*—that about this period of his life he fell uninjured from a window-sill, where he was asleep, in the third story of the castle at Innsbruck (the window is still shown), and that, attributing his escape to the Madonna, he became for the time a fervent religionist.

It seems tolerably certain that while a young man he studied at Padua and Bologna, where he seems to have first developed that belief in astrology, which in after times exercised such baleful influence over him; and it is more than possible that he visited the Netherlands, France, and England.

In 1606, after his return to Bohemia, he served in the Turkish war under Georg Basta, a general of the Emperor Rudolph II., and possibly also under Ferdinand (then Archduke of Styria) against the Venetians.

Probably about 1609 he married a rich widow, Lucretia Nickess v. Landeck, who died in 1614 and left him a considerable property. About the same time he also inherited fourteen estates from an uncle. Through his influence and his military services at the outbreak of the war (he was in command as *Oberst* at the battle of the 'White Hill' 1620, and in the same year defeated the insurgent Bethlen Gabor in Silesia) he gained the favour of the Emperor, and was allowed to buy up at nominal prices immense tracts of confiscated land. Among these he secured the princely estate of Friedland, and was created a *Fürst* (not an *unmittelbarer Reichsfürst*, which he only became when created Duke of Mecklenburg; see on l. 859 sq.) His influence was greatly

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strengthened by his marriage in 1623 with Isabella Katharina v. Harrack, daughter of the Imperial Minister Graf Harrack, and the extraordinary services that he rendered the Emperor in amassing a new army (1625) and defeating Mansfeld were rewarded (1627) by the Duchy (*Herzogtum*) of Friedland, to which was soon after added that of Sagan.

## SCHILLER'S 'WALLENSTEIN.'

? THERE probably exists no great work of art whose growth through all its various stages, from the first germ to maturity, can be studied so minutely as is possible in the case of *Wallenstein*. Some artistic conceptions have indeed required for their full development a still longer period than the five<sup>1</sup> years during which this drama occupied Schiller. Dante's poem 'made him lean' for thrice that length of time. The idea of *Faust*, which inspired Goethe when a young man of two and twenty, had attained but incomplete<sup>2</sup> realisation when he sealed up the last pages of his manuscript on his eighty-second birthday.

But never surely did any poet, having once determined his subject, submit himself to a longer and severer self-examination than did Schiller on this occasion—analysing his motives, testing his powers, reviewing his resources, planning, discussing, remodelling and elaborating the minutest details, ere ever he set himself seriously to the task of embodying his conception in language. Such anxious self-analysis is, in spite of the *Vita Nuova*, held by many to be incompatible with true poetic genius, and to such critics Schiller's *Wallenstein* appears a laboured

<sup>1</sup> One might perhaps say eight. But from 1791 to 1794 the idea seems to have lain almost dormant in his mind.

<sup>2</sup> Incomplete, not only because with this mighty subject, as he himself says, 'the whole must ever remain a fragment,' but because even this fragment was again unsealed and constantly re-touched during the few months that remained of his life.

product of the intellect rather than a work of creative imagination. By many, on the other hand, it is considered to be a drama on a level with the masterpieces of Sophocles and Shakespeare.

The truth seems to me to lie somewhere midway between these two extremes. No one whose feeling for art is not blinded by art theories can be insensible to the creative power with which in this play Schiller delineates human character in various forms and under various influences—a power which nothing but genius possesses. At the same time it must be allowed that the whole drama (except the *Lager*) is pervaded by an exceedingly dry light; that<sup>1</sup> its characters have not that living reality, that warm humanity, which alone can deeply excite our sympathies and antipathies; that, in fact, we are compelled to agree with Schiller in regarding none of these characters but Max and Thekla with any deeper feeling than 'a purely artistic love.'

This, I believe, is due to the fact that in *Wallenstein*, after having broken violently with the past, Schiller made his first attempt to obey principles of art to which his whole nature had not as yet given consent, and under which, therefore, feeling could have no free play.

He was aware that feeling had hitherto led him astray. The passionate extravagance of the *Räuber*, the *Sturm und Drang*, of *Fiesco*, and the impetuous rhetoric of *Don Carlos*, he rightly held to be essentially undramatic. Drama, as sculpture, needs restraint; and to gain this restraint it was necessary that his new dramatic characters should be treated from an entirely different standpoint. Hitherto they had been (as in Byron's plays) merely expressions, positive and negative, of the poet's

<sup>1</sup> I say this with all deference to the opinion of those who feel otherwise, and above all to the (later) opinion of Schiller himself. Ich finde, he says, with reference to the *Wallenstein* (1798), daß mich die Klarheit und die Besonnenheit, welche die Frucht einer späteren Epoche ist, nichts von der Wärme einer frühern gefoßet hat.

personality—empty *simulacra*; now they were to be independent existences, living creations.<sup>1</sup> In a word, Schiller was determined to be nothing if not *objective*. All subjectivity of treatment, all expression of his own personality under any dramatic disguise whatever, was to be in future ruthlessly excluded.

With this object in view he seems to have purposely chosen as the central figure of his next drama a character with which he felt, and could feel, very little sympathy. 'The passions' (he says, in a letter to Körner) 'by which Wallenstein is moved, namely revenge and ambition, are of the most frigid nature. His character is never noble, *must* never be noble;<sup>2</sup> he must never appear really great, only formidable. . . . After this description you will begin to fear that I have lost my interest in this business. Be reassured! My interest is not in the least diminished, nor my hope of success. This was exactly the kind of subject that I wanted, in order to begin my new dramatic existence. . . . This subject matter lies so *outside of me* that I can scarcely get up any affection for it; it leaves me cold and indifferent, although I find myself inspired to work at it. With the exception of two, towards whom I feel drawn by affection, I treat all the characters, and especially the chief character, merely with the pure love of an artist.'

In this quest for objectivity Schiller was guided aright, and prevented from falling into the slough of realism, by his own innate idealism, by Goethe's influence, and by his true appreciation of the Greek tragedians. 'The characters of the Greek tragedies,' he says, 'are not individuals, but more or less ideal figures;' and he evidently would have us conclude that all dramatic creations should be 'more or less ideal.'

Indeed *Wallenstein* is as far removed from being

<sup>1</sup> These remarks have no application to his lyrical poetry.

<sup>2</sup> Again, in a letter to Humboldt (1796): 'His undertaking was morally bad and physically unsuccessful.'

merely a realistic study as it is from being such a 'fabrication' as *Don Carlos*.<sup>1</sup> It is without doubt a true work of art, and one that we may safely rank very high; and if it does not hold an equally high place in our affections, I think we can explain the fact to ourselves by assuming that Schiller, so jealously on his guard against the intrusion of his own personality, and determined to subject himself to a new law, had not yet fully developed the new feeling by which alone that law could be fulfilled, and which in his later plays (such, for instance, as *Wilhelm Tell*) inspires the characters with life and reality.

The necessity for such inspiring power, and the possibility of a certain 'dryness of manner' in his new style, is acknowledged by Schiller himself. Ich will dadurch (by fact-truth) meine Figuren, und meine Handlungen, blos beleben; beseelen muß sie diejenige Kraft, die ich allenfals schon habe zeigen können, und ohne welche ja überhaupt kein Gedanke an dieses Geschäft von Anfang an möglich gewesen wäre. . . . Auf dem Weg, wo ich jetzt gehe, kann es leicht geschehen, daß mein Wallenstein durch eine gewisse Trockenheit der Manier sich von meinen vorhergehenden Stücken gar seltsam unterscheiden wird.<sup>2</sup>

It is most interesting and instructive to observe how the idea of the *Wallenstein* took shape and gradually unfolded itself under internal and external influences; and for this object we fortunately possess ample material. Of especial value are the very numerous letters which passed during the years of its composition between Schiller and his friends Goethe and Chr. Gottfried Körner, father of the poet Theodor Körner. It is impossible to enter here at any length into this question; I shall merely give a short summary to serve for purposes of reference, mentioning such facts alone as seem

<sup>1</sup> Ein Nachwerk wie der *Carlos* are Schiller's words.

<sup>2</sup> This does not apply to the *Lager* but to the drama itself.

to have special bearing on our subject, and quoting passages from various letters.<sup>1</sup>

1785. In the spring Schiller (twenty-six years of age) resigns his connection with the Mannheim Theatre, and removes to Leipzig. Makes acquaintance with Körner. Resides till September at Gohlis, near Leipzig. Writes the *Lied an die Freude*.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly (11th September) leaves for Dresden, arriving 'at midnight by extra post.' Lives for two years with Körner at Loschwitz, a picturesque village on the right bank of the Elbe, a mile or so above Dresden, opposite Blasewitz. Here *Don Carlos* is recast from prose into iambics. (Lessing's *Nathan*, 1778, was the first classical German drama in this measure.) These two years, passed in comparative seclusion and intimacy with Körner, develop a tendency towards reflection and restraint.

1787. Removes to Weimar in July. (Goethe absent in Italy.) Dissatisfied with his *Don Carlos* (first played in Hamburg, 20th August). Devotes himself to prose composition. Assists Wieland with his journal, *Deutscher Merkur*.<sup>3</sup> Begins the *Abfall der Niederlande*, and works at his romance, *Der Geisterseher*. Becomes intimate with the Lengefeld family.

1788. In spring removes to the little village of Volkstedt, near Rudolstadt (some twenty miles south from Weimar), where the Lengefelds are living. Composes *Die Götter Griechenlands*. Much time given to the Greek tragedians. Translates for Charlotte v. Lengefeld, his future wife, the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides, and parts of the *Phænissa*. But history still engages most of his energies, and he complains pathetically that he seems more fitted for an historian than a poet. *Meine Geschichte hat viel Dichterkraft in mir verdorben*. Yet this poetic power gives evidence of its vigour in the *Künstler*. Goethe returns from Italy, visits Rudolstadt, and is introduced to Schiller, who at first is not drawn to him.<sup>4</sup> Ich zweifle

<sup>1</sup> For a full account see Düntzer's *Erläuterung* (Leipzig, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> Notable rather through Beethoven's 9th Symphony than for any merits of its own. Schiller calls it ein schlechtes Gedicht.

<sup>3</sup> *Thalia*, taken up at Mannheim, was suspended till 1788.

<sup>4</sup> Goethe also speaks of himself and Schiller as 'spiritual antipodes.'



ob wir einander je sehr nahe rücken werden. . . . Unsere Darstellungsarten scheinen wesentlich verschieden.

1789. Through Goethe's influence Schiller is elected (March) 'Extraordinary Professor of History' at Jena. 'They have bamboozled<sup>1</sup> me,' he writes to Körner. 'I shall feel ridiculous. Many a student will probably know more history than the Herr Professor.' But protests are of no avail. For a year he studies and lectures on history, dependent on his audiences for his income. All poetic and other literary activity is at a standstill, save editing and contributing to his periodical *Thalia*, that had again struggled into existence, and vainly endeavouring to make way with his inert tragedy, *Der Menschenfeind*. Political and social questionings are excited in his mind by the French Revolution. As Wordsworth, Coleridge, and other noble natures, Schiller is at first filled with glorious hopes, then with fears, then with disgust and horror.

1790. The 'obscuration of the master-vision' shows first faint signs of passing. Fresh poetic impulses given by his marriage (February), and a revived consciousness of his true calling. *Es wird mir nicht eher wohl werden, ehe ich wieder Verse machen kann*. External difficulties, too, somewhat lightened by a pension from Karl August of 200 thalers—£30. Various poetic projects taken up and abandoned. Determines at last to attempt drama again, but not until he has thoroughly mastered the true principles. Meantime: *ich sehe nicht ein, warum ich nicht, wenn ich ernstlich will, der erste Geschichtsschreiber Deutschlands werden kann*. Reverts therefore to history, and laying aside his unfinished *Abfall der Niederlande*, begins his *30jähr. Krieg*, for publication in the *Historischer Kalender für Damen*. Publishes in *Thalia* the unfinished 'Menschenfeind.' Projects, but does not accomplish, a *Deutscher Plutarch*, a series of 'Memorable Lives.' To forward this he visits a princely patron, Fürst Primas Karl v. Dalberg, in Erfurt. Here he contracts the chest disease that tormented him all the rest of his life. Here, too, it is said, in conversation with Fürst Dalberg, the first idea of *Wallenstein* is suggested to him. *Seit meiner Erfurter Reise bewegt sich wieder der Plan zu einem Trauerspiel in meinem Kopf, und ich habe einen Gegenstand für abgerissene poetische Momente*.

<sup>1</sup> übertölpelt.

1791. Serious and continued illness prevents lecturing, and checks further development of the new idea, though reflections and discussions as to the *form* of a possible future poem occupy much of his time. Körner advises an epic. Schiller, who had lately translated the second *Aeneid* of Virgil, agrees that his gifts are rather epic than dramatic, and seems only in doubt as to his subject—whether Wallenstein, or Gustavus Adolphus, or Frederick the Great. Still his better instincts lead him back once more to the drama. Studies and writes various essays on the 'Theory of Tragedy.' A visit to Karlsbad for the sake of his health exhausts his scanty means, but he receives an unexpected gift of 1000 thalers, to be repeated for three years.

1792. Pays a brief visit to Körner at Dresden. Once more at Jena, works at his 30jähr. Krieg.<sup>1</sup> He becomes deeply immersed in Kant's philosophy. *Ich stecke bis an die Ohren in Kants Urteilsthraft. . . . Ich werde nicht ruhen, bis ich diese Materie durchdrungen habe.* Through this æsthetic and transcendental deluge, which lasts several years, he wades safely, still preserved a poet, as Wordsworth in somewhat like case. *Ich bin voll Ungeduld, etwas Poetisches vor die Hand zu nehmen; besonders juckt mir die Feder nach dem B.* Eigentlich ist es doch nur die Kunst selbst, wo ich meine Kräfte fühle, in der Theorie muß ich mich immer mit Prinzipien plagen. Various theoretic essays—'Über die Schönheit,' 'Über Anmuth und Würde,' etc,—remain as memorials of this flood-time, which doubtless has for the future some fertilising effects, though it also effects present injury. *Geschadet hat sie mir [die Kritik] in der That; denn die Kühnheit, die lebendige Gluth, die ich hatte, ehe mir noch eine Regel bekannt war, vermisste ich schon seit mehreren Jahren. Ich sehe mich jetzt erschaffen und bilden, ich beobachte das Spiel der Begeisterung. . . .*

1793. Visits with his wife his parents in Swabia, where a son is born to him. Is offered a Professorship at Tübingen, which he declines. During this Swabian visit he writes, *Nie war ich reicher an Entwürfen . . . nie konnte ich wegen der elendsten aller Hindernisse, wegen körperlichen Druckes, weniger ausharren. An größere Kompositionen darf ich gar nicht mehr denken.* Yet he soon after plans a new drama,

<sup>1</sup> Finished in September. *Jetzt bin ich frei, und ich will es für immer bleiben. Keine Arbeit mehr, die mir ein anderer auflegt, oder die einen anderen Ursprung hat als Liebe und Neigung.*

*The Knights of Malta* (*Die Malteser*) which for a time throws all thoughts of *Wallenstein* into the background; but by the end of the year this too has given way to various *ästhetische Briefe* and essays of like nature, as well as to a new monthly journal, *Die Horen*, started by him with Goethe's help.<sup>1</sup>

1794. While still in Swabia he is seized by an impulse to work out his idea of *Wallenstein*, which seems to have been ripening in his mind perhaps more rapidly than he had suspected, but was scarcely so mature as he now fancied. 'As soon as the plan of it is in readiness, I have but little fear that it will take me more than three weeks to finish the play.' [It took him just five years from this date!] A little later, however, after his return to Jena, doubts again arise as to his ability and his state of preparation for such an attempt. Begins to suspect that after all it will take 'eight months of his life' instead of three weeks. Körner is opposed to all this self-analysis and theorising—this 'northern sin,' as he calls it. He begs Schiller to leave himself entirely to his imagination, and to wait for inspiration. Goethe, with whom he spends two weeks at Weimar, tries to incite him to finish *Die Malteser*. But the dramatic impulse seems to have quite forsaken him, and except adding further solidity to his theoretic foundations, which he did not yet trust, little was effected during this year.

1795. During the first half of the year little or nothing but 'Æsthetic Studies' and prose contributions to the *Horen*. Then a few lyric pieces for the *Musenalmanach* (notably the 'Spaziergang'). Takes *Die Malteser* in hand for a time, but again distrusts his foundations, and betakes himself once more to 'Æsthetic Studies' for the *Horen*.

1796. 'Æsthetic Studies' at length at an end. But remains still undecided, and fearful of launching out into the drama. *Zu einem Schauspiel kann ich nicht eher kommen, als bis ich sechs ganz freie Monate für mich voraussehe, welches in diesem Jahre nicht wohl zu hoffen ist. . . .* 'He must work still at the bone-constructure' (*Knochengebäude*), he writes to Goethe; but only a few days later he reports: *Ich bin jetzt wirklich und in allem Ernste bei meinem Wallenstein.* From

<sup>1</sup> The *Horen* soon expired, and even before its decease the less ambitious *Musenalmanach* appeared, in which were published many of Schiller's finest ballads, as well as the notorious 'Xenien.'

this date he is fairly launched. In the autumn he writes to Körner that *Wallenstein* still occupies him *ernstlich und ausschließend*; and letter upon letter is sent to his various friends discussing the new style of treatment, and the special difficulties presented by this 'most untractable subject,' which will not obey (*pariren*) the bit of its new master. He looks forward to its completion by the next summer—indeed, considers it already as good as finished, *fertig*, and talks much of its stage production, though as yet 'lying there before me formless and endless;' not a line written! Nay more, whether it is to be prose or verse is not yet decided. 'Humboldt<sup>1</sup> thinks I should write it in prose. As regards the labour of the thing, it's all the same to me whether I write iambics or prose.' In spite of frequent illness and many sleepless nights the work progresses, and by the end of the year two acts of the *Piccolomini* are written—in prose.

1797. In the spring Goethe is at Jena for six weeks, finishing his *Hermann and Dorothea*, and discussing epics and dramas with Schiller. Little visible progress made with *Wallenstein*, but certain parts of the foundation made more secure—notably that of the 'astrological motive,'—to support what proved a boldly planned and skilfully executed main-arch of the whole structure. Later, in his garden and garden-house in a suburb of Jena, he studies Shakespeare, the Greek poets, and Aristotle's *Poetics*; and on Goethe's return in May reads to him the 'Vorspiel' of his play—the 'Wallensteiner'—a short introductory scene in rhymed verse, from which the *Lager* was later developed. This year is known as the *Balladenjahr*. In friendly rivalry with Goethe were composed 'Der Taucher,' 'Der Handschuh,' 'Der Ring von Polykrates,' 'Die Kraniche von Ibykus,' and other of his best known ballads. During Goethe's absence in Switzerland, Schiller determines to adopt 'iambics' instead of prose for the play, which hitherto—except the rhymed 'Vorspiel'—had been written in prose: *Alles, was ich schon gemacht, muß anders werden, und ist es zum Teil schon . . . es ist jetzt erst eine Tragödie zu nennen*. He 'cannot conceive how he ever could have attempted to write a poem in prose.' He never before had 'such a palpable proof of the intimate connection of form and matter;' and he writes a long letter to Goethe on the necessity of verse in a work of

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt.

the imagination.<sup>1</sup> This decision seems to open the flood-gates, and *Wallenstein* begins to swell to unexpected bulk: *Ein Monstrum an Breite und Ausdehnung*. Goethe advises a 'cyclus of pieces' instead of one play—advice that Schiller adopts. Towards the year's end he is much troubled by ever-recurring chest affection and sleeplessness; but two acts are written out *ins Reine*.

1798. The first two acts (four of the later version) being finished, the rest is more rapidly executed—*das übrige ist blos die Entwicklung dessen, was hier gegeben ist*. Certain portions requiring out-door inspiration are deferred till he can exchange his study for his garden. In February he is in dem tiefsten Wirbel der Handlung, and in March three quarters are finished, and are read to Goethe, 'who finds them magnificent—in some parts quite astounding.' The remaining two acts, which Schiller expected 'almost to spring into existence of their own accord,' are again and again laid aside on account of ill-health. In May Goethe urges him to finish the play in order that it may be acted by the autumn, when the celebrated player Schröder is expected in Weimar—a thought that seems to freeze up at once every source of inspiration, so that all 'theatrical considerations' have to be entirely set aside. 'You are right,' answers Goethe. 'No one can serve two masters, and of all masters I would least choose the public that sits in a German theatre.' During the summer months the last two acts approach completion, though somewhat interrupted by lyrical and other work. In September he visits Goethe in Weimar, and reads to him the whole play (as it then stood; for it was later considerably altered for theatrical purposes). Here he decides to work up the 'Vorspiel' into an independent piece—the *Lager*—and to have it acted in the following month at the opening of the new Weimar theatre, and also to divide the play itself into two separate parts. Once more at home he adds 'new figures' to the *Lager*; among others the Capuchin monk, the material of whose sermon is later suggested by Goethe. But time lapses, and Goethe comes impatient to Jena to hasten on the work. Schillers *Jandern und Schwanken*, he reports, *geht über alle Begriffe*. At length, on nearly the last day of the month, the MS. of the *Lager* is given over to Goethe, who undertakes to

<sup>1</sup> His arguments are very forcible. Still more so is the argument deducible from the actual result of his decision.

write a song on the Sack of Magdeburg, while Schiller is to compose an opening 'Prologue.' Goethe returns to Weimar October 1st. The *Prolog* is to be sent by a *Botenfrau* next day; but days pass and it does not arrive. At length (4th) Schiller despatches a copy hastily written from memory, begging that Goethe would erase certain portions. Goethe has failed to produce any rhymes on the Sack of Magdeburg;<sup>1</sup> hopes, however, to have something ready in time. He also sends Schiller a book of tractates by the Austin Friar Abraham a Sancta Clara, as material for the sermon<sup>2</sup> of the Capuchin. Schiller, who wished to publish the *Prolog* at once in his *Musenalmanach*, and was desirous of making a few last alterations in the *Lager*, begs for the return of the MS. It is returned with Goethe's alterations; a part of the passage in which the actor Iffland is lauded he thinks should be suppressed, to avoid possible jealousies on the part of the Weimar players, and some lines (18-21) substituted in praise of Schröder. On the 7th the first rehearsal of the *Lager* is held. Goethe writes to beg Schiller to send the *Kapuzinerpredigt*, and to make no further alterations; and he encloses a *Soldatenlied*.<sup>3</sup> On the 8th Goethe announces that the performance is to take place on the 12th, and wishes Schiller to be present at the last rehearsal on the 11th. On the same day Schiller sends the *Kapuzinerpredigt*, saying that it is merely a hurried versification of Friar Abraham's mad oratory, but that it must do for the first performance. He also makes a few changes to allow of its suitable introduction (see note to sc. viii. l. 1), and adds some verses to Goethe's *Soldatenlied*, and professes himself content with Goethe's alterations.<sup>4</sup> On the 11th, Schiller, with his wife and friends, comes over to Weimar, where the last rehearsal is held before a select audience, and excites enthusiastic applause. On the next evening, after a play by Kotzebue (*Die Kösener*), which is said to have lasted too long for the impatient audience, the first performance of the *Lager* takes place.

In the present volume it will be unnecessary to follow in detail the further history of the play. Suffice it to

<sup>1</sup> A song (eleven verses) on the subject has been found among Goethe's papers—not in his handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the sermon in the *Räuber*.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> Probably ll. 11 and 12; see note.

say that after many alterations and retrenchments, such as Goethe had long ago seen to be requisite for theatrical purposes,<sup>1</sup> the *Piccolomini* was played on the Weimar stage on the 30th January, and *Wallenstein's Tod* on 20th April 1799. The trilogy was first published (2 vols.) in the summer of 1800, by the Stuttgart and Tübingen publisher Cotta. It was printed at Weimar, under Schiller's superintendence. In the printed editions the last two acts of the *Piccolomini*, as first acted, were incorporated in the *Tod*.

The commentaries, elucidations, and analyses that have appeared during this century are legion. Archives have been ransacked, and immense erudition and ingenuity have been expended on rehabilitating Wallenstein, as he veritably and historically existed; but perhaps, after all, the veritable Wallenstein exists for us rather in Schiller's drama, and the best commentary is Schiller's history and his letters.

An early MS. of the drama, attested by Schiller, was sent to the London publisher Bell, who had undertaken to have it translated into English. By him it was sold to the firm Longman and Rees, who entrusted the translation to Coleridge. His version (which did not include the *Lager*) is often cited as one of the finest translations in the English language. In point of expression it is certainly often as good as, sometimes even better than, the original; but the play is so essentially German that it can possess but little interest for the purely English reader. In his first edition of the *Piccolomini* Coleridge announced as 'in the press, and speedily to appear' not only the *Death of Wallenstein*, but also *Wallenstein's Camp*. The translation of the *Lager* was, however, abandoned. 'To have translated it,' he says, 'into any other metre than the original would have given a false notion of the style and purport; but it could not be translated into the same metre faith-

<sup>1</sup> Eine graufame Schere is what he recommended.

fully because of our poverty in rhymes ; and it would have been unadvisable from the incongruity of these lax verses with the present taste of the English public'—a taste, we may remark in passing, which Coleridge himself has educated to a finer perception of rhythm by his *Christabel*.

The following is a not wholly unsuccessful attempt by Carlyle to reproduce in English this 'rude Hudibrastic metre,' as he calls it :—

'Free wish'd I to live, and easy and gay,  
And see something new on each new day ;  
In the joys of the moment lustily sharing,  
'Bout the past or the future not thinking or caring :  
To the Kaiser, therefore, I sold my bacon,  
And by him good charge of the whole is taken.(!)  
Order me on 'mid the whistling fiery shot,  
Over the Rhine stream rapid and roaring wide,  
A third of the troop must go to pot—  
Without loss of time I mount and ride ;  
But further, I beg very much, do you see,  
That in all things else you would leave me free.'  
(*Lager*, l. 241 sq.)

Fortunately nowadays the native language of Schiller is beginning to assert its true place in English education, so that we can better afford to dispense with translations.



## THE 'LAGER.'

IN 1796, when Schiller was beginning to fully realise and to 'face with all earnestness' the difficulties of his undertaking, he wrote as follows to Körner:—Die Base, worauf Wallenstein seine Unternehmung gründet, ist die Armee; mithin für mich eine unendliche Fläche, die ich nicht vors Auge und nur mit unsäglichcr Kunst vor die Phantasie bringen kann.

In the *Lager* he endeavours to 'suggest to the imagination' this 'illimitable expanse' by a 'series of pictures'<sup>1</sup>—characteristic portraits of the various classes of men that compose Wallenstein's army; bidding us piece out his imperfections with our thoughts—

Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
And make imaginary puissance.

Schiller hat einen sehr guten Gedanken gehabt, says Goethe in a letter to the painter Heinr. Meyer (1797), daß er ein kleines Stück, die Wallensteiner, als Prolog vorausschickt, wo die Masse der Armee, gleichsam wie das Chor der Alten, sich mit Gewalt und Gewicht darstellt, weil am Ende des Hauptstückes doch alles darauf ankommt, daß die Masse nicht mehr bei ihm bleibt.

Although the conduct of the army was doubtless to a great extent due to the desertion of Wallenstein by his chief officers<sup>2</sup> and personal friends, yet it was the army that, as Schiller says, formed the foundation of his ambitious enterprise, and it was the subsidence of this foundation that caused his fall—

<sup>1</sup> In einer Reihe von Gemälden nur.—*Prolog*. I. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Erst als man der meisten Anführer, die unter W. gebient, sicher war, warf man die Maske ab.—(Müller.)

Denn seine Macht ist's, die sein Herz verführt;  
Sein Lager nur erkläret sein Verbrechen.

'The *Lager* points,' says Carlyle, 'with much humour and graphical felicity the manners of that rude tumultuous host which Wallenstein presides over, and had made the engine of his ambitious schemes. . . . Here are all the wild lawless spirits of Europe assembled within the circuit of a single trench. Violent, tempestuous, unstable is the life they lead. Ishmaelites, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them; the instruments of rapine; tarnished with almost every vice, and knowing scarcely any virtue but those of reckless bravery and uncalculating obedience to their leader, their situation still presents some aspects which affect or amuse us; and these the poet has seized with his accustomed skill.'

This skill in delineation is equalled by the skill with which Schiller groups and combines these various types of camp life. Sharply distinguished from one another by nationality, by personal character, by their views of life, of war, and of allegiance, they are all (except the taciturn Arquebusier and the wild Croats) bound together by devotion to Wallenstein.<sup>1</sup> Allowing and asserting in all else the utmost license of speech and action, they all rise as one man against the Capuchin friar when he attacks their leader.

The various characters will be discussed in the notes, as each appears on the scene. Here we need merely observe how in the *Lager*, as in an overture, we have, as it were, foretones of the coming drama.

Wie Schatten, says a writer,<sup>2</sup> gehen sie den Hauptcharakteren der Tragödie voraus. So erkennt man in dem Pappenheimer Kürassier den edlen Mag. Piccolomini; in dem Dragoner, der nur des Glückes Stern folgt, den Emporkömmling Buttler; in dem Wallenstein mit Leib und Seele

<sup>1</sup> Die kühnen Scharen die . . . sein Geiſt befeelt.—*Proz.* I. 112.

<sup>2</sup> König, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*.

ergebenen Trompeter den Grafen Terzky; in dem dummen Kroaten den nicht viel gescheiteren Isolani; in dem kaiser-treuen Urkeubstler den Tiefenbach; der Wachtmeister ist eine drollige Kopie des Feldherrn selbst.

And the *Lager* does not only foreshadow the chief characters of the play. The time and scene of action are indicated, and our interest aroused and attracted, by not a few skilful touches. Thus we learn (Scene ii.) that the army is encamped at Pilsen, where it has already been eight months,<sup>1</sup> that fresh troops have lately arrived (Scene i.)—among them some of Holk's Jäger (Scene v.); that numerous generals and distinguished officers have been summoned to headquarters; that the Duchess of Friedland and her daughter are expected (Scene ii.); that an imperial legate has been seen in the camp; and we begin to suspect that something is in the wind (was wieder im Werke), that things are not quite right (gar nicht geheuer), that troubles are in store for Wallenstein.

Besides this we find several slight sketches of some of the characters that are to appear later, such as Buttler, Isolani, and the astrologer Seni, as well as a finished portrait of the great chief himself—a *Schattenbild*, as Schiller calls it in contrast to the *lebende Gestalt* which it foreshadows.

As regards its language Schiller's *Lager* is inimitable. The homely, quaint, humorous, vigorous, or pedantic speech used by the various soldiers and camp-followers, while absolutely free from any taint of vulgarity (the characters themselves being very far removed from that vice) is a most successful reproduction of the vulgar tongue, as spoken by the classes here represented. Indeed, in spite of the restraint of verse, Schiller seems to me in this respect to excel even Goethe in his *Egmont*, and to be excelled by Shakespeare alone.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *Lager*, l. 25.

## ANALYSIS OF THE 'LAGER.'

SCENE I. The Camp by Pilsen. Canteens and retail shop. The scene thronged, and all the tables occupied by soldiers. A peasant (an embodiment of the general demoralisation of the country) approaches with his son, whom he persuades to join him in an attempt to fleece the soldiers by means of loaded dice.

SCENE II. The peasant is jovially received and 'treated' by the soldiers. The Sergeant-Major (Wachtmeister) and Trumpeter discuss public matters, and suspect that all this assemblage of troops and general commotion at headquarters means mischief of some kind. They express their determination to hold by Wallenstein whatever may happen.

SCENE III. A Croat (type of rapacious but stupid animalism) barters away to a sharpshooter, for some objects of little value, a costly necklace of pearls and garnet.

SCENE IV. An artilleryman (Konstabler) announces the capture of Regensburg by the Swedes. The news of this reverse to their Bavarian allies is received with more than indifference by Wallenstein's soldiers—a sign of the hostile feeling existing between him and the Bavarian Kurfürst.

SCENE V. One of Holk's 'Jäger' enters and is recognised as an old friend by the Sutler-woman, who recounts her late wanderings, by which we learn various events that have happened in the course of the war. The Sutler-woman's niece appears, and excites flattering comments from the soldiers.

SCENE VI. The Sergeant-Major (Wachtmeister), Trumpeter, and two 'Jäger' discuss warmly the merits of their respective regiments. The Wachtmeister's pedantic definitions of soldier life and character contrasted with the free-and-easy views of the soldier of fortune. The Jäger relates his experiences under

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various commanders. Description of severe discipline and puritanism under Gustavus Adolphus, of jollity under Tilly, of etiquette and double-dealing among the Saxons. Service under Wallenstein described in glowing terms—how he inspires his troops with enthusiasm and self-confidence, and tempers inexorable severity towards insubordination with a wise indulgence. Wallenstein's supposed invulnerability, and his astrological practices.

SCENE VII. The conversation interrupted by entrance of a recruit, whom a citizen tries in vain to dissuade from enlisting. The recruit is greeted clamorously by the soldiers, and the Wachtmeister gives a sapient address on the splendid prospects offered by a military career—citing the case of Buttler and that of Wallenstein himself. An Irish dragoon falls out with the Jäger for paying attentions to the Sutler-woman's niece. A general quarrel seems imminent, when some musicians from Prag are seen approaching, and dancing begins.

SCENE VIII. In the midst of this merry-making suddenly appears a Capuchin monk (representative of the priestly party hostile to Wallenstein). The *Sermon*. A reflection on Wallenstein's indifference to religion excites disapproval among the soldiers. The Capuchin bursts out into denunciation of their leader, which is met by threats of violence. Croats interfere on his behalf, and under their escort he retires from the scene, still uttering his denunciations.

SCENE IX. The Wachtmeister explains the Capuchin's remark that Wallenstein cannot listen to a crowing cock. Loud cries from the Canteen. The peasant has been caught using his false dice. General uproar.

SCENE X. Soldiers drag the peasant forward and clamour for summary punishment. An Arquebusier (who has silently come forward during the commotion) takes the humane view—that the peasant's crime 'comes of desperation,' and that after all 'a peasant is a human being—so to say.'

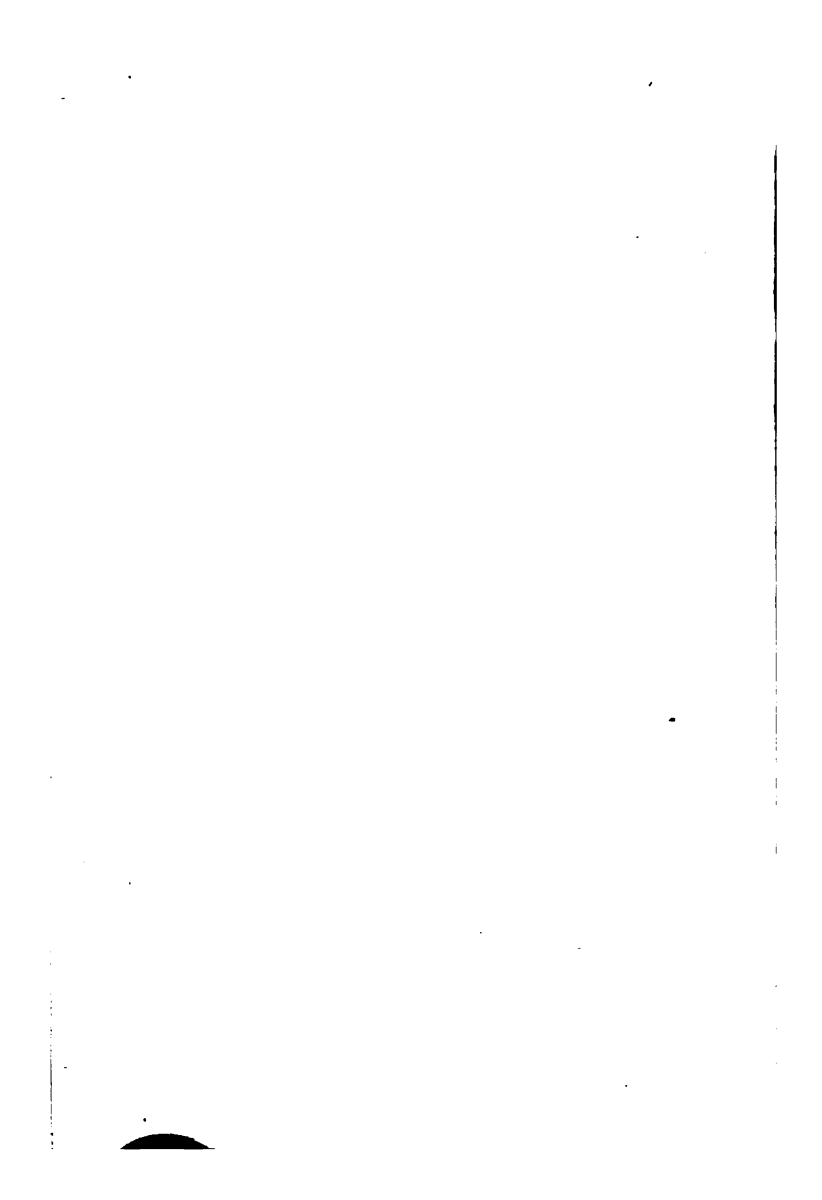
SCENE XI. A Cuirassier enters with a comrade, and contemptuously reprimanding the Sharpshooter for 'trying his luck with a peasant,' sets the latter free. The appearance of these Pappenheimer cuirassiers elicits respectful comments. The two speak together, and are evidently indignant at some news just received. Accosted by the Jäger, the first Cuirassier relates that a requisition

of 8000 men has been made to escort the Cardinal Infante (Ferdinand) to the Netherlands. By this news great excitement and indignation are caused. The Wachtmeister, after a good draught of Melnick wine, speaks out his mind. A hot discussion ensues on Wallenstein's privileges and position as regards the Kaiser. The Arquebusier alone insists on loyalty to the Kaiser as the first principle. The Cuirassier, whose more dignified bearing and larger experience evidently command respect, now leads the discussion, and expresses his views on a soldier's life, advocating eloquently the cause of humanity—as far as it is consistent with the existence of war. But if the war ceases, the soldiers' profession will be gone, and if the army is broken up by this new requisition the war will cease. Therefore he recommends that each regiment shall draw up a memorial to protest against this step, and that Max Piccolomini shall be chosen as their spokesman. This proposal is carried by the acclamation of all, except the Arquebusier, who has meantime paid his shot at the Canteen, and has retired from the scene. With a spirited war-song—the last two lines of each verse being repeated in chorus—the *Lager* concludes.

## Personen.

Wachtmeister, } von einem Terzkyſchen Karabinier-Regi-  
Trompeter, } ment.  
Konſtabler.  
Scharſſchützen.  
Zwei Holkiſche reitende Jäger.  
Buttleriſche Dragoner.  
Urkebuſiere vom Regiment Tiefenbach.  
Kürassierr von einem walloniſchen } Regiment.  
Kürassierr von einem lombardiſchen }  
Kroaten.  
Ulanen.  
Refrut.  
Bürger.  
Bauer.  
Bauerſnabe.  
Kapuziner.  
Soldatenuſchulmeiſter.  
Marketenderin.  
Eine Aufwärterin.  
Soldatenjungen.  
Hoboiften.

Vor der Stadt Piſſen in Böhmen.





## Prolog.

Gesprochen bei Wiedereröffnung der Schaubühne in Weimar im Oktober 1798.

Der scherzenden, der ernstern Maske Spiel,  
Dem ihr so oft ein willig Ohr und Auge  
Beliehn, die weiche Seele hingegeben,  
Vereinigt uns aufs neu in diesem Saal —  
Und sieh! er hat sich neu verjüngt, ihn hat 5  
Die Kunst zum heitern Tempel ausgeschmückt,  
Und ein harmonisch hoher Geist spricht uns  
Aus dieser edeln Säulenordnung an  
Und regt den Sinn zu festlichen Gefühlen.

Und doch ist dies der alte Schauplatz noch, 10  
Die Wiege mancher jugendlichen Kräfte,  
Die Laufbahn manches wachsenden Talents.  
Wir sind die Alten noch, die sich vor euch  
Mit warmem Trieb und Eifer ausgebildet.  
Ein edler Meister stand auf diesem Platz, 15  
Euch in die heitern Höhen seiner Kunst  
Durch seinen Schöpfergenius entzückend.  
O! möge dieses Raumes neue Würde  
Die Würdigsten in unsre Mitte ziehn  
Und eine Hoffnung, die wir lang gehegt, 20  
Sich uns in glänzender Erfüllung zeigen.

Ein großes Muster weckt Nacheiferung  
Und gibt dem Urtheil höhere Gesetze.  
So stehe dieser Kreis, die neue Bühne  
Als Zeugen des vollendeten Talents. 25  
Wo möcht' es auch die Kräfte lieber prüfen,  
Den alten Ruhm erfrischen und verjüngen,  
Als hier vor einem auserles'nen Kreis,  
Der, rührbar jedem Zauberschlag der Kunst,  
Mit leis beweglichem Gefühl den Geist 30  
In seiner flüchtigsten Erscheinung hascht ?

Denn schnell und spurlos geht des Mimen Kunst,  
Die wunderbare, an dem Sinn vorüber,  
Wenn das Gebild des Meißels, der Gesang  
Des Dichters nach Jahrtausenden noch leben. 35  
Hier stirbt der Zauber mit dem Künstler ab,  
Und wie der Klang verhallt in dem Ohr,  
Verrauscht des Augenblicks geschwinde Schöpfung,  
Und ihren Ruhm bewahrt kein dauernd Werk.  
Schwer ist die Kunst, vergänglich ist ihr Preis, 40  
Dem Mimen slicht die Nachwelt keine Kränze ;  
Drum muß er geizen mit der Gegenwart,  
Den Augenblick, der sein ist, ganz erfüllen,  
Muß seiner Mitwelt mächtig sich versichern  
Und im Gefühl der Würdigsten und Besten 45  
Ein lebend Denkmal sich erbauen. — So nimmt er  
Sich seines Namens Ewigkeit voraus,  
Denn wer den Besten seiner Zeit genug  
Gethan, der hat gelebt für alle Zeiten.

Die neue Aera, die der Kunst Thaliens 50  
Auf dieser Bühne heut beginnt, macht auch

Den Dichter kühn, die alte Bahn verlassend,  
Euch aus des Bürgerlebens engem Kreis  
Auf einen höhern Schauplatz zu versetzen,  
Nicht unwert des erhabenen Moments 55  
Der Zeit, in dem wir strebend uns bewegen.  
Denn nur der große Gegenstand vermag  
Den tiefen Grund der Menschheit aufzuregen;  
Im engen Kreis verengert sich der Sinn,  
Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen größern Zwecken. 60

Und jetzt an des Jahrhunderts erstem Ende,  
Wo selbst die Wirklichkeit zur Dichtung wird,  
Wo wir den Kampf gewaltiger Naturen  
Um ein bedeutend Ziel vor Augen sehn  
Und um der Menschheit große Gegenstände, 65  
Um Herrschaft und um Freiheit, wird gerungen,  
Jetzt darf die Kunst auf ihrer Schattenbühne  
Auch höhern Flug versuchen, ja sie muß,  
Soll nicht des Lebens Bühne sie beschämen.

Zerfallen sehen wir in diesen Tagen 70  
Die alte feste Form, die einst vor hundert  
Und fünfzig Jahren ein willkommener Friede  
Europens Reichen gab, die teure Frucht  
Von dreißig jammervollen Kriegesjahren.  
Noch einmal laßt des Dichters Phantasie 75  
Die düstre Zeit an euch vorüberführen,  
Und blicket froher in die Gegenwart  
Und in der Zukunft hoffnungsreiche Ferne.

In jenes Krieges Mitte stellt euch jetzt

Der Dichter. Sechzehn Jahre der Verwüstung, 80  
 Des Raubs; des Elends sind dahingeflohn,  
 In trüben Massen gähret noch die Welt,  
 Und keine Friedenshoffnung strahlt von fern.  
 Ein Tummelplatz von Waffen ist das Reich,  
 Verödet sind die Städte, Magdeburg 85  
 Ist Schutt, Gewerb und Kunstfleiß liegen nieder,  
 Der Bürger gilt nichts mehr, der Krieger alles,  
 Straflose Frechheit spricht den Sitten Hohn,  
 Und rohe Horden lagern sich, verwildert  
 Im langen Krieg, auf dem verheerten Boden. 90

Auf diesem finstern Zeitgrund malet sich  
 Ein Unternehmen kühnen Uebermuts  
 Und ein verwegener Charakter ab.  
 Ihr kennet ihn — den Schöpfer kühner Heere,  
 Des Lagers Abgott und der Länder Geißel, 95  
 Die Stütze und den Schrecken seines Kaisers,  
 Des Glückes abenteuerlichen Sohn,  
 Der, von der Zeiten Gunst emporgetragen,  
 Der Ehre höchste Staffeln rasch erstieg  
 Und, ungesättigt immer weiter strebend, 100  
 Der unbezähmten Ehrfucht Opfer fiel.  
 Von der Parteien Gunst und Haß verwirrt,  
 Schwanft sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte;  
 Doch euren Augen soll ihn jetzt die Kunst,  
 Auch eurem Herzen menschlich näher bringen. 105  
 Denn jedes Aeußerste führt sie, die alles  
 Begrenzt und bindet, zur Natur zurück,  
 Sie sieht den Menschen in des Lebens Drang  
 Und wälzt die größte Hälfte seiner Schuld  
 Den unglückseligen Gestirnen zu. 110

Nicht er ist's, der auf dieser Bühne heut  
 Erscheinen wird. Doch in den kühnen Scharen,  
 Die sein Befehl gewaltig lenkt, sein Geist  
 Beseelt, wird euch sein Schattenbild begegnen,  
 Bis ihn die scheue Muse selbst vor euch 115  
 Zu stellen wagt in lebender Gestalt,  
 Denn seine Macht ist's, die sein Herz verführt,  
 Sein Lager nur erkläret sein Verbrechen.

Darum verzeiht dem Dichter, wenn er euch  
 Nicht raschen Schritts mit einem Mal ans Ziel 120  
 Der Handlung reißt, den großen Gegenstand  
 In einer Reihe von Gemälden nur  
 Vor euren Augen abzurollen wagt.  
 Das heut'ge Spiel gewinne euer Ohr  
 Und euer Herz den ungewohnten Tönen ; 125  
 In jenen Zeitraum führ' es euch zurück,  
 Auf jene fremde kriegerische Bühne,  
 Die unser Held mit seinen Thaten bald  
 Erfüllen wird.

Und wenn die Muse heut,  
 Des Tanzes freie Göttin und Gesangs, 130  
 Ihr altes deutsches Recht, des Reimes Spiel,  
 Bescheiden wieder fordert — tadelt's nicht !  
 Ja, danket ihr's, daß sie das düstre Bild  
 Der Wahrheit in das heitre Reich der Kunst  
 Hinüberspielt, die Täuschung, die sie schafft, 135  
 Aufrichtig selbst zerstört und ihren Schein  
 Der Wahrheit nicht betrüglich unterschiebt ;  
 Ernst ist das Leben, heiter ist die Kunst.

## Erster Auftritt.

Marktenderzelt, davor eine Kram- und Trödelbude. Soldaten von allen Farben und Feldzeichen drängen sich durcheinander, alle Tische sind besetzt. Kroaten und Ulanen an einem Kohlsfeuer kochen, Marktenderir. schenkt Wein, Soldatenjungen würfeln auf einer Trommel, im Zelt wird gesungen.

Ein Bauer und sein Sohn.

### Bauernbabe.

Vater, es wird nicht gut ablaufen,  
Bleiben wir von dem Soldatenhaufen.  
Sind Euch gar trogige Kameraden;  
Wenn sie uns nur nichts am Leibe schaden.

### Bauer.

Ei was! Sie werden uns ja nicht fressen,  
Treiben sie's auch ein wenig vermessen.  
Siehst du? sind neue Völker herein,  
Kommen frisch von der Saal' und dem Main,  
Bringen Beut' mit, die rarsten Sachen!  
Unser ist's, wenn wir's nur listig machen.  
Ein Hauptmann, den ein andrer erstach,  
Ließ mir ein paar glückliche Würfel nach.  
Die will ich heut einmal probieren,  
Ob sie die alte Kraft noch führen.

5

10

Mußt dich nur recht erbärmlich stellen, 15  
Sind dir gar lockere, leichte Gesellen.  
Lassen sich gerne schön thun und loben,  
So wie gewonnen, so ist's zerstoßen.  
Nehmen sie uns das Unre in Scheffeln,  
Müssen wir's wieder bekommen in Löffeln; 20  
Schlagen sie grob mit dem Schwerte drein,  
So sind wir pfiffig und treiben's fein.

(Im Zelt wird gesungen und gejubelt.)

Wie sie juchzen — daß Gott erbarm! 25  
Alles das geht von des Bauern Felle.  
Schon acht Monate legt sich der Schwarm  
Uns in die Betten und in die Ställe,  
Weit herum ist in der ganzen Aue  
Keine Feder mehr, keine Klaue,  
Daß wir für Hunger und Elend schier  
Nagen müssen die eignen Knochen. 30  
War's doch nicht ärger und krauser hier,  
Als der Sachs noch im Lande thät pochen.  
Und die nennen sich Kaiserliche!

### **Bauernbabe.**

Vater, da kommen ein paar aus der Küche, 35  
Sehen nicht aus, als wär' viel zu nehmen.

### **Bauer.**

Sind einheimische, geborne Böhmen,  
Von des Terschtas Karabinieren,  
Liegen schon lang in diesen Quartieren.  
Unter allen die schlimmsten just, 40  
Spreizen sich, werfen sich in die Brust,  
Thun, als wenn sie zu fürnehm wären,

Mit dem Bauer ein Glas zu leeren.  
 Aber dort seh' ich die drei scharfe Schützen  
 Einer Hand um ein Feuer sitzen,  
 Sehen mir aus wie Tiroler schier.  
 Emmerich, komm! an die wollen wir,  
 Lustige Vögel, die gerne schwätzen,  
 Tragen sich sauber und führen Bazen.

45

(Gehen nach den Zelten.)

## Zweiter Auftritt.

Vorige. Wachtmeister. Trompeter. Man.

**Trompeter.**

Was will der Bauer da? Fort, Halunk!

**Bauer.**

Gnädige Herren, einen Bissen und Trunk!  
 Haben heut noch nichts Warmes gegessen.

50

**Trompeter.**

Ei, das muß immer saufen und fressen.

**Man** (mit einem Glase).

Nichts gefrühstückt? Da trink, du Hund!

(Führt den Bauer nach dem Zelte; jene kommen vorwärts.)

**Wachtmeister** (zum Trompeter).

Meinst du, man hab' uns ohne Grund  
 Heute die doppelte Löhnung gegeben,  
 Nur daß wir flott und lustig leben?

55

**Trompeter.**

Die Herzogin kommt ja heute herein  
 Mit dem fürstlichen Fräulein —



**Wachtmeister.**

Das ist nur der Schein.

Die Truppen, die aus fremden Landen  
Sich hier vor Pilsen zusammen fanden, 60  
Die sollen wir gleich an uns locken  
Mit gutem Schluß und guten Brocken,  
Damit sie sich gleich zufrieden finden  
Und fester sich mit uns verbinden.

**Trompeter.**

Ja, es ist wieder was im Werke! 65

**Wachtmeister.**

Die Herrn Generäle und Kommendanten —

**Trompeter.**

Es ist gar nicht geheuer, wie ich merke.

**Wachtmeister.**

Die sich so dick hier zusammen fanden —

**Trompeter.**

Sind nicht für die Langweil herbemüht.

**Wachtmeister.**

Und das Gemunkel und das Geschicke — 70

**Trompeter.**

Ja, ja!

**Wachtmeister.**

Und von Wien die alte Perücke,  
Die man seit gestern herumgehn sieht,  
Mit der guldenen Gnadenkette,  
Das hat was zu bedeuten, ich wette.

**Trompeter.**

Wieder so ein Spürhund, gebt nur acht,  
Der die Jagd auf den Herzog macht. 75

**Wachtmeister.**

Merkst du wohl? Sie trauen uns nicht,  
Fürchten des Friedländers heimlich Gesicht.  
Er ist ihnen zu hoch gestiegen,  
Möchten ihn gern herunterkriegen. 80

**Trompeter.**

Aber wir halten ihn aufrecht, wir,  
Dächten doch alle, wie ich und Ihr!

**Wachtmeister.**

Unser Regiment und die andern vier,  
Die der Terschka anführt, des Herzogs Schwager,  
Das resoluteſte Corps im Lager, 85  
Sind ihm ergeben und gewogen,  
Hat er uns selbst doch herangezogen.  
Alle Hauptleute ſetzt' er ein,  
Sind alle mit Leib und Leben ſein.

**Dritter Auftritt.**

Kroat mit einem Halsſchmuck. Scharfſchütze folgt. Dorige.

**Scharfſchütz.**

Kroat, wo haſt du das Halsband geſtohlen? 90  
Handle dir's ab! dir iſt's doch nichts nütz.  
Geb' dir dafür das Paar Terzerolen.

**Proat.**

Nix, nix! Du willst mich betrügen, Schütz.

**Scharffschütz.**

Nun! geb' dir auch noch die blaue Mütze,  
Hab' sie soeben im Glücksrade gewonnen.  
Siehst du? Sie ist zum höchsten Staat.

95

**Proat** (läßt das Halsband in der Sonne spielen).

's ist aber von Perlen und edelm Granat.  
Schau, wie das flinkert in der Sonnen!

**Scharffschütz** (nimmt das Halsband).

Die Feldflasche noch geb' ich drein, (besteht es)  
Es ist mir nur um den schönen Schein.

100

**Trompeter.**

Seht nur, wie der den Kroaten preßt!  
Halbpart, Schütze, so will ich schweigen.

**Proat** (hat die Mütze aufgesetzt).

Deine Mütze mir wohlgefällt.

**Scharffschütz** (winckt dem Trompeter).

Wir tauschen hier! Die Herrn sind Zeugen!

## Vierter Auftritt.

Vorige. Konstabler.

**Konstabler** (tritt zum Wachtmeister).

Wie ist's, Bruder Karabinier?  
Werden wir uns lang noch die Hände wärmen,  
Da die Feinde schon frisch im Feld herum schwärmen?

105

**Wachtmeister.**

Thut's Ihm so eilig, Herr Konstabel?  
Die Wege sind noch nicht praxtabel.

**Konstabler.**

Mir nicht. Ich sitze gemächlich hier;  
Aber ein Eilbot' ist angekommen,  
Meldet, Regensburg sei genommen.

110

**Trompeter.**

Ei, da werden wir bald aufsitzen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Wohl gar! Um dem Bayer sein Land zu schützen,  
Der dem Fürsten so unfreund ist?  
Werden uns eben nicht sehr erhizen.

115

**Konstabler.**

Meint Ihr? — Was Ihr nicht alles wißt!

**Fünfter Auftritt.**

Vorige. Zwei Jäger. Dann Marketenderin. Soldatenjungen.

Schulmeister. Aufwärterin.

**Erster Jäger.**

Sieh, sieh!

Da treffen wir lustige Kompanie.

**Trompeter.**

Was für Grünröck' mögen das sein?  
Treten ganz schmuß und stattlich ein.

120

**Wachtmeister.**

Sind Holtsche Jäger; die silbernen Treffen  
Holten sie sich nicht auf der Leipziger Messen.

**Marktenderin** (kommt und bringt Wein).

Glück zur Ankunft, ihr Herrn!

**Erster Jäger.**

Was? der Blitz!

Das ist ja die Gustel aus Blasewitz.

**Marktenderin.**

Ich freilich! Und Er ist wohl gar, Musjjo,  
Der lange Peter aus Jhehō?

125

Der seines Vaters goldene Füchse  
Mit unserm Regiment hat durchgebracht  
Zu Glückstadt in einer lustigen Nacht —

**Erster Jäger.**

Und die Feder vertauscht mit der Kugelbüchse.

130

**Marktenderin.**

Ei, da sind wir alte Bekannte!

**Erster Jäger.**

Und treffen uns hier im böhmischen Lande.

**Marktenderin.**

Heute da, Herr Vetter, und morgen dort —  
Wie einen der rauhe Kriegesbesen  
Segt und schüttelt von Ort zu Ort;  
Bin indes weit herum gewesen.

135

**Erster Jäger.**

Will's Ihr glauben! Das stellt sich dar.

**Marktenderin.**

Bin hinauf bis nach Temeswar  
Gefommen mit den Bagagewagen,  
Als wir den Mansfelder thäten jagen. 140  
Lag mit dem Friedländer vor Stralsund,  
Ging mir dorten die Wirtschafft zu Grund.  
Zog mir dem Sulkurs vor Mantua,  
Kam wieder heraus mit dem Feria,  
Und mit einem spanischen Regiment 145  
Hab' ich einen Abstecher gemacht nach Gent.  
Jetzt will ich's im böhmischen Land probieren,  
Alte Schulden einfassieren —  
Ob mir der Fürst hilft zu meinem Geld.  
Und das dort ist mein Marktenderzelt. 150

**Erster Jäger.**

Nun, da trifft Sie alles beisammen an!  
Doch wo hat Sie den Schottländer hingethan,  
Mit dem Sie damals herumgezogen?

**Marktenderin.**

Der Spitzbub! Der hat mich schön betrogen.  
Fort ist er! Mit allem davon gefahren, 155  
Was ich mir thät am Leibe ersparen.  
Ließ mir nichts als den Schlingel da!

**Soldatenjunge** (kommt gesprungen).

Mutter! sprichst du von meinem Papa?

**Erster Jäger.**

Nun, nun! das muß der Kaiser ernähren,  
Die Armee sich immer muß neu gebären. 160

**Soldatenschulmeister** (kommt).

Fort in die Feldschule! Marsch, ihr Buben!

**Erster Jäger.**

Das fürcht sich auch vor der engen Stuben!

**Aufwärterin** (kommt).

Baße, sie wollen fort.

**Marktetenderin.**

Gleich, gleich!

**Erster Jäger.**

Ei, wer ist denn das kleine Schelmengesichte?

**Marktetenderin.**

's ist meiner Schwester Kind — aus dem Reich.

165

**Erster Jäger.**

Ei, also eine liebe Nichte? (Marktetenderin geht.)

**Zweiter Jäger** (das Mädchen haltend).

Bleib Sie bei uns doch, artiges Kind.

**Aufwärterin.**

Gäste dort zu bedienen sind.

(Macht sich los und geht.)

**Erster Jäger.**

Das Mädchen ist kein übler Bissen! —

Und die Muhme — beim Element!

Was haben die Herrn vom Regiment

Sich um das niedliche Lärvochen gerissen! —

Was man nicht alles für Leute kennt,

170

Und wie die Zeit von dannen rennt. —  
Was werd' ich noch alles erleben müssen!

175

(Zum Wachtmeister und Trompeter.)

Euch zur Gesundheit, meine Herrn! —  
Laßt uns hier auch ein Plätzchen nehmen.

### Sechster Auftritt.

Jäger. Wachtmeister. Trompeter.

**Wachtmeister.**

Wir danken schön. Von Herzen gern.  
Wir rücken zu. Willkommen in Böhmen!

**Erster Jäger.**

Ihr sitzt hier warm. Wir, in Feindes Land,  
Mußten derweil uns schlecht bequemen.

180

**Trompeter.**

Man sollt's euch nicht ansehen, ihr seid galant.

**Wachtmeister.**

Ja, ja, im Saalkreis und auch in Meissen  
Hört man euch Herrn nicht besonders preisen.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Seid mir doch still! Was will das heißen?  
Der Kroat es ganz anders trieb,  
Uns nur die Nachlese übrig blieb.

185

**Trompeter.**

Ihr habt da einen saubern Spizen  
Am Kragen, und wie Euch die Hosen sitzen!



Die feine Wäsche, der Federhut!  
Was das alles für Wirkung thut!  
Daß doch den Burschen das Glück soll scheinen,  
Und so was kommt nie an unser einen!

190

**Wachtmeister.**

Dafür sind wir des Friedländers Regiment,  
Man muß uns ehren und respektieren.

195

**Erster Jäger.**

Das ist für uns andre kein Kompliment,  
Wir ebenso gut seinen Namen führen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Ja, ihr gehört auch so zur ganzen Masse.

**Erster Jäger.**

Ihr seid wohl von einer besondern Rasse?  
Der ganze Unterschied ist in den Rößen,  
Und ich ganz gern mag in meinem stecken.

200

**Wachtmeister.**

Herr Jäger, ich muß Euch nur bedauern,  
Ihr lebt so draußen bei den Bauern;  
Der feine Griff und der rechte Ton,  
Das lernt sich nur um des Feldherrn Person.

205

**Erster Jäger.**

Sie bekam Euch übel, die Lektion.  
Wie er räuspert, und wie er spuckt,  
Das habt Ihr ihm glücklich abgeguckt;  
Aber sein Schenie, ich meine sein Geist  
Sich nicht auf der Wachparade weist.

210

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Wetter auch! wo Ihr nach uns fragt,  
 Wir heißen des Friedländers wilde Jagd  
 Und machen dem Namen keine Schande —  
 Ziehen frech durch Feindes und Freundes Lande, —  
 Quersfeldein durch die Saat, durch das gelbe Korn — 215  
 Sie kennen das Holfische Jägerhorn! —  
 In einem Augenblick fern und nah,  
 Schnell wie die Sündflut, so sind wir da —  
 Wie die Feuerflamme bei dunkler Nacht  
 In die Häuser fährt, wenn niemand wacht — 220  
 Da hilft keine Gegenwehr, keine Flucht,  
 Keine Ordnung gilt mehr und keine Zucht. —  
 Es sträubt sich — der Krieg hat kein Erbarmen —  
 Das Mägdlein in unsern sehnigten Armen —  
 fragt nach, ich sag's nicht, um zu prahlen; 225  
 In Baireuth, im Voigtland, in Westfalen,  
 Wo wir nur durchgekommen sind —  
 Erzählen Kinder und Kindeskind  
 Nach hundert und aber hundert Jahren  
 Von dem Holf noch und seinen Scharen. 230

**Wachtmeister.**

Nun, da sieht man's! Der Saus und Braus,  
 Macht denn der den Soldaten aus?  
 Das Tempo macht ihn, der Sinn und Schick,  
 Der Begriff, die Bedeutung, der feine Blick.

**Erster Jäger.**

Die Freiheit macht ihn! Mit Euren Fragen! 235  
 Daß ich mit Euch soll darüber schwagen. —  
 Lief ich darum aus der Schul' und der Lehre,

Daß ich die Fron' und die Galeere,  
 Die Schreibstub' und ihre engen Wände  
 In dem Feldlager wiederfände? — 240  
 Flott will ich leben und müßig gehn,  
 Alle Tage was Neues sehn,  
 Mich dem Augenblick frisch vertrauen,  
 Nicht zurück, auch nicht vorwärts schauen —  
 Drum hab' ich meine Haut dem Kaiser verhandelt, 245  
 Daß keine Sorg' mich mehr anwandelt.  
 Führt mich ins Feuer frisch hinein,  
 Ueber den reißenden, tiefen Rhein —  
 Der dritte Mann soll verloren sein;  
 Werde mich nicht lang sperren und zieren. — 250  
 Sonst muß man mich aber, ich bitte sehr,  
 Mit nichts weiter inkommodieren.

**Wachtmeister.**

Nu, nu, verlangt Ihr sonst nichts mehr?  
 Das ließ sich unter dem Wams da finden.

**Erster Jäger.**

Was war das nicht für ein Placken und Schinden 255  
 Bei Gustav, dem Schweden, dem Leuteplager!  
 Der machte eine Kirch' aus seinem Lager,  
 Ließ Bettstunde halten, des Morgens, gleich  
 Bei der Reveille und beim Zapfenstreich.  
 Und wurden wir manchmal ein wenig munter, 260  
 Er kanzelt' uns selbst wohl vom Gaul herunter.

**Wachtmeister.**

Ja, es war ein gottesfürchtiger Herr.

**Erster Jäger.**

Dirnen, die ließ er gar nicht passieren,

# WALLENSTEINS LAGER

Wach zu Nacht zur Kirche führen.  
das zu Auer nicht ertragen mehr.

265

**Reichsmeister.**

du sollst - aber nicht anders her.

**Erster Jäger.**

ich bin immer in der Gegend.  
Nicht die mit dieser Veränderung rufen.  
das was aber ein ander Ding!

270

ich bin immer in der Gegend.  
Nicht die mit dieser Veränderung rufen.  
das was aber ein ander Ding!  
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275

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ich bin immer in der Gegend.  
Nicht die mit dieser Veränderung rufen.  
das was aber ein ander Ding!

280

285

**Erster Jäger.**

Es ging mir schlecht.

Sollten da strenge Mannszucht halten, 290  
Durften nicht recht als Feinde walten,  
Mussten des Kaisers Schlösser bewachen,  
Viel Umständ' und Komplimente machen,  
Führten den Krieg, als wär's nur Scherz,  
Hatten für die Sach' nur ein halbes Herz, 295  
Wollten's mit niemand ganz verderben,  
Kurz, da war wenig Ehr zu erwerben,  
Und ich wär' bald für Ungeduld  
Wieder heimgelaufen zum Schreibepult,  
Wenn nicht eben auf allen Straßen 300  
Der Friedländer hätte werben lassen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Und wie lang denkt Ihr's hier auszuhalten?

**Erster Jäger.**

Spaßt nur! Solange der thut walten,  
Denk' ich Euch, mein Seel! an kein Entlaufen.  
Kann's der Soldat wo besser kaufen? — 305  
Da geht alles nach Kriegesfitt',  
Hat alles 'nen großen Schnitt,  
Und der Geist, der im ganzen Corps thut leben,  
Reißet gewaltig, wie Windesweben,  
Auch den untersten Reiter mit. 310  
Da tret' ich auf mit beherztem Schritt,  
Darf über den Bürger kühn wegschreiten,  
Wie der Feldherr über der Fürsten Haupt.  
Es ist hier wie in den alten Zeiten,  
Wo die Klinge noch alles thät bedeuten; 315

Da gibt's nur ein Vergehn und Verbrechen:  
Der Ordre fürwichtig widersprechen.  
Was nicht verboten ist, ist erlaubt;  
Da fragt niemand, was einer glaubt.  
Es gibt nur zwei Ding' überhaupt:  
Was zur Armee gehört und nicht;  
Und nur der Fahne bin ich verpflichtet.

320

### **Wachtmeister.**

Jetzt gefällt Ihr mir, Jäger! Ihr sprecht  
Wie ein Friedländischer Reitersknecht.

### **Erster Jäger.**

Der führt's Kommando nicht wie ein Amt,  
Wie eine Gewalt, die vom Kaiser stammt!  
Es ist ihm nicht um des Kaisers Dienst,  
Was bracht' er dem Kaiser für Gewinn?  
Was hat er mit seiner großen Macht  
Zu des Landes Schirm und Schutz vollbracht?  
Ein Reich von Soldaten wollt' er gründen,  
Die Welt anstecken und entzünden,  
Sich alles vermessen und unterwinden —

325

330

### **Trompeter.**

Still! Wer wird solche Worte wagen!

### **Erster Jäger.**

Was ich denke, das darf ich sagen.  
Das Wort ist frei, sagt der General.

335

### **Wachtmeister.**

So sagt er, ich hört's wohl einigemal,  
Ich stand dabei. „Das Wort ist frei,

„Die That ist stumm, der Gehorsam blind,“  
Dies urkundlich seine Worte sind.

340

**Erster Jäger.**

Ob's just seine Wort' sind, weiß ich nicht;  
Aber die Sach ist so, wie er spricht.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Ihm schlägt das Kriegsglück nimmer um,  
Wie's wohl bei andern pflegt zu geschehen.  
Der Tilly überlebte seinen Ruhm.  
Doch unter des Friedländers Kriegspanieren,  
Da bin ich gewiß zu victorisieren.  
Er bannet das Glück, es muß ihm stehen.  
Wer unter seinem Zeichen thut fechten,  
Der steht unter besondern Mächten.  
Denn das weiß ja die ganze Welt,  
Daß der Friedländer einen Teufel  
Aus der Hölle im Solde hält.

345

350

**Wachmeister.**

Ja, daß er fest ist, das ist kein Zweifel;  
Denn in der blut'gen Affair bei Lützen  
Ritt er euch unter des Feuers Blitzen  
Auf und nieder mit kühlem Blut.  
Durchlöchert von Kugeln war sein Hut,  
Durch den Stiefel und Koller fuhren  
Die Ballen, man sah die deutlichen Spuren;  
Kommt' ihm keine die Haut nur rißen,  
Weil ihn die höllische Salbe thät schützen.

355

360

**Erster Jäger.**

Was wollt Ihr da für Wunder bringen!

Er trägt ein Koller von Elendshaut,  
Das feine Kugel kann durchdringen.

365

**Wachtmeister.**

Nein, es ist die Salbe von Herenfraut,  
Unter Zaubersprüchen gekocht und gebraut.

**Trompeter.**

Es geht nicht zu mit rechten Dingen!

**Wachtmeister.**

Sie sagen, er leß auch in den Sternen  
Die künftigen Dinge, die nahen und fernern;  
Ich weiß aber besser, wie's damit ist.  
Ein graues Männlein pflegt bei nächtlicher Frist  
Durch verschlossene Thüren zu ihm einzugehen;  
Die Schildwachen haben's oft angeschrien,  
Und immer was Großes ist drauf geschehen,  
Wenn je das graue Röcklein kam und erschien.

370

375

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Ja, er hat sich dem Teufel übergeben,  
Drum führen wir auch das lustige Leben.

**Siebenter Auftritt.**

Vorige. Ein Rekrut. Ein Bürger. Dragoner.

**Rekrut**

(tritt aus dem Zelt, eine Blechhaube auf dem Kopfe, eine Weinflasche  
in der Hand).

Grüß den Vater und Vaters Brüder!  
Bin Soldat, komme nimmer wieder.

380



**Erster Jäger.**

Sieh, da bringen sie einen Neuen!

**Bürger.**

O, gib acht, Franz! es wird dich reuen.

**Retrut (singt).**

Trommeln und Pfeifen,  
Kriegrischer Klang!  
Wandern und streifen 385  
Die Welt entlang,  
Rosse gelenkt,  
Mutig geschwenkt,  
Schwert an der Seite,  
frisch in die Weite, 390  
flüchtig und flink,  
frei, wie der Fink  
Auf Sträuchern und Bäumen  
In Himmels Räumen!  
Hei! ich folge des Friedländers Fahn! 395

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Seht mir, das ist ein wackerer Kumpan!

(Sie begrüßen ihn.)

**Bürger.**

O, laßt ihn. Er ist guter Leute Kind.

**Erster Jäger.**

Wir auch nicht auf der Straße gefunden sind.

**Bürger.**

Ich sag' euch, er hat Vermögen und Mittel.  
Fühlt her, das feine Tüchlein am Kittel. 400

**Trompeter.**

Des Kaisers Rock ist der höchste Titel.

**Bürger.**

Er erbt eine kleine Mützenfabrik.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Des Menschen Wille, das ist sein Glück.

**Bürger.**

Von der Großmutter einen Kram und Laden.

**Erster Jäger.**

Pfui, wer handelt mit Schwefelfaden!

405

**Bürger.**

Einen Weinschant dazu von seiner Paten,  
Ein Gewölbe mit zwanzig Stückfaß Wein.

**Trompeter.**

Den teilt er mit seinen Kameraden.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Hör du! wir müssen Zeltbrüder sein.

**Bürger.**

Eine Braut läßt er sitzen in Thränen und Schmerz. 410

**Erster Jäger.**


Recht so, da zeigt er ein eisernes Herz.

**Bürger.**

Die Großmutter wird für Kummer sterben.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Desto besser, so kann er sie gleich beerben.



**Wachtmeister**

(tritt gravitatisch herzu, dem Rekruten die Hand auf die Blechhaube legend).

Sieht Er, das hat Er wohl erwogen.  
Einen neuen Menschen hat Er angezogen; 415  
Mit dem Helm da und Wehrgehäng  
Schließt Er sich an eine würdige Meng.  
Muß ein fürnehmer Geist jetzt in Ihn fahren —

**Erster Jäger.**

Muß besonders das Geld nicht sparen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Auf der Fortuna ihrem Schiff 420  
Ist Er zu segeln im Begriff;  
Die Weltkugel liegt vor Ihm offen,  
Wer nichts waget, der darf nichts hoffen.  
Es treibt sich der Bürgersmann, trüg und dumm,  
Wie des Färbers Gaul, nur im Ring herum. 425  
Aus dem Soldaten kann alles werden,  
Denn Krieg ist jetzt die Lösung auf Erden.  
Seh' Er 'mal mich an! In diesem Rock  
Führ' ich, sieht Er, des Kaisers Stock.  
Alles Weltregiment, muß Er wissen, 430  
Von dem Stock hat ausgehen müssen;  
Und das Zepter in Königs Hand  
Ist ein Stock nur, das ist bekannt.  
Und wer's zum Korporal erst hat gebracht,  
Der steht auf der Leiter zur höchsten Macht, 435  
Und so weit kann Er's auch noch treiben.

**Erster Jäger.**

Wenn Er nur lesen kann und schreiben.

**Wachtmeister.**

Da will ich Ihm gleich ein Exempel geben ;  
 Ich thät's vor kurzem selbst erleben.  
 Da ist der Schef vom Dragonerkorps, 440  
 Heißt Buttler, wir standen als Gemeine  
 Noch vor dreißig Jahren bei Köln am Rheine,  
 Jetzt nennt man ihn Generalmajor.  
 Das macht, er thät sich baß hervor,  
 Thät die Welt mit seinem Kriegsrühm füllen ; 445  
 Doch meine Verdienste, die blieben im Stillen.  
 Ja, und der Friedländer selbst, sieht Er,  
 Unser Hauptmann und hochgebietender Herr,  
 Der jetzt alles vermag und kann,  
 War erst nur ein schlichter Edelmann, 450  
 Und weil er der Kriegsgöttin sich vertraut,  
 Hat er sich diese Größ' erbaut,  
 Ist nach dem Kaiser der nächste Mann,  
 Und wer weiß, was er noch erreicht und ermißt,  
 (pfffig) Denn noch nicht aller Tage Abend ist. 455

**Erster Jäger.**

Ja, er fing's klein an und ist jetzt so groß.  
 Denn zu Ultorf im Studentenfragen  
 Trieb er's, mit Permiß zu sagen,  
 Ein wenig locker und burschikos,  
 Hätte seinen Samulus bald erschlagen. 460  
 Wollten ihn drauf die Nürnberger Herren  
 Mir nichts, dir nichts ins Karzer sperren ;  
 's war just ein neugebautes Nest,  
 Der erste Bewohner sollt' es taufen.  
 Aber wie fängt er's an ? Er läßt 465  
 Weislich den Pudel voran erst laufen.

Nach dem Hunde nennt sich's bis diesen Tag ;  
Ein rechter Kerl sich dran spiegeln mag.  
Unter des Herrn großen Thaten allen  
Hat mir das Stückchen besonders gefallen. 470

(Das Mädchen hat unterdessen aufgewartet ; der zweite Jäger schäkert mit ihr.)

**Dragoner** (tritt dazwischen).

Kamerad, laß Er das unterwegen !

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Wer, Henker ! hat sich da drein zu legen !

**Dragoner.**

Ich will's Ihm nur sagen, die Dirn ist mein.

**Erster Jäger.**

Der will ein Schätzchen für sich allein !  
Dragoner, ist Er bei Troste ? sag' Er ! 475

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Will was Upartes haben im Lager.  
Einer Dirne schön Gesicht  
Muß allgemein sein, wie's Sonnenlicht ! (Küßt sie.)

**Dragoner** (reißt sie weg).

Ich sag's noch einmal, das leid' ich nicht.

**Erster Jäger.**

Luftig, lustig ! da kommen die Prager ! 480

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Sucht Er Handel ? Ich bin dabei.

**Wachtmeister.**

Fried', ihr Herren ! Ein Kuß ist frei !

## Nichter Auftritt.

Bergknappen treten auf und spielen einen Walzer, erst langsam und dann immer geschwinder. Der erste Jäger tanzt mit der Aufwärterin, die Marketenderin mit dem Rekruten; das Mädchen entspringt, der Jäger hinter ihr her und bekommt den Kapuziner zu fassen, der eben hereintritt.

### Kapuziner.

Heiße, juchheia! Dudeldumdei!  
 Das geht ja hoch her. Bin auch dabei!  
 Ist das eine Armee von Christen? 485  
 Sind wir Türken? Sind wir Antibaptisten?  
 Treibt man so mit dem Sonntag Spott,  
 Als hätte der allmächtige Gott  
 Das Chiragra, könnte nicht drein schlagen?  
 Ist's jetzt Zeit zu Saufgelagen, 490  
 Zu Banketten und Feiertagen?  
 Quid hic statis otiosi?  
 Was steht ihr und legt die Hände in Schoß?  
 Die Kriegsfuri ist an der Donau los,  
 Das Bollwerk des Bayerlands ist gefallen, 495  
 Regensburg ist in des Feindes Krallen,  
 Und die Armee liegt hier in Böhmen,  
 Pflegt den Bauch, läßt sich's wenig grämen,  
 Kümmert sich mehr um den Krug als den Krieg,  
 Weht lieber den Schnabel als den Sabel, 500  
 Hezt sich lieber herum mit der Dirn,  
 Frigt den Ochsen lieber als den Orenstirn.  
 Die Christenheit trauert in Sack und Asche,  
 Der Soldat füllt sich nur die Tasche.  
 Es ist eine Zeit der Thränen und Not, 505

Am Himmel geschehen Zeichen und Wunder,  
 Und aus den Wolken, blutigrot,  
 Hängt der Herrgott den Kriegsmantel 'runter.  
 Den Kometen steckt er, wie eine Rute,  
 Drohend am Himmelsfenster aus, 510  
 Die ganze Welt ist ein Klagehaus,  
 Die Arche der Kirche schwimmt in Blute,  
 Und das römische Reich — daß Gott erbarm!  
 Sollte jetzt heißen römisch Arm;  
 Der Rheinstrom ist worden zu einem Peinstrom, 515  
 Die Klöster sind ausgenommene Nester,  
 Die Bistümer sind verwandelt in Wüsttümer,  
 Die Abteien und die Stifter  
 Sind nun Raubteien und Diebesklüfter,  
 Und alle die gesegneten deutschen Länder 520  
 Sind verkehrt worden in Elender —  
 Woher kommt das? Das will ich euch verkünden:  
 Das schreibt sich her von euern Lasten und Sünden,  
 Von dem Greuel und Heidenleben,  
 Dem sich Offizier und Soldaten ergeben. 525  
 Denn die Sünd' ist der Magnetenstein,  
 Der das Eisen ziehet ins Land herein.  
 Auf das Unrecht, da folgt das Uebel,  
 Wie die Thrän' auf den herben Zwiebel,  
 Hinter dem A kommt gleich das Weh, 530  
 Das ist die Ordnung im ABC.

Ubi erit victoriae spes,  
 Si offenditur Deus? Wie soll man siegen,  
 Wenn man die Predigt schwänzt und die Meß,  
 Nichts thut, als in den Weinhäusern liegen? 535  
 Die Frau in dem Evangelium  
 fand den verlorenen Groschen wieder,

Der Saul seines Vaters Esel wieder,  
Der Joseph seine saubern Brüder ;  
Aber wer bei den Soldaten sucht 540  
Die Furcht Gottes und die gute Zucht  
Und die Scham, der wird nicht viel finden,  
Thät' er auch hundert Laternen anzünden.  
Zu dem Prediger in der Wüsten,  
Wie wir lesen im Evangelisten, 545  
Kamen auch die Soldaten gelaufen,  
Thaten Buß und ließen sich taufen,  
Fragten ihn : Quid faciemus nos ?  
Wie machen wir's, daß wir kommen in Abrahams  
Schoß ?

Et ait illis, und er sagt : 550  
Neminem concutiat,  
Wenn ihr niemanden schindet und plact.  
Neque calumniam faciatis,  
Niemand verlästert, auf niemand lügt.  
Contenti estote, euch begnügt, 555  
Stipendiis vestris, mit eurer Löhnung  
Und verflucht jede böse Angewöhnung.  
Es ist ein Gebot : Du sollst den Namen  
Deines Herrgotts nicht eitel ausstramen !  
Und wo hört man mehr blasphemieren, 560  
Als hier in den friedländischen Kriegsquartieren ?  
Wenn man für jeden Donner und Blitz,  
Den ihr losbrennt mit eurer Zungenspiß,  
Die Glocken müßt' läuten im Land umher,  
Es wär' bald kein Mefner zu finden mehr. 565  
Und wenn euch für jedes böse Gebet,  
Das aus eurem ungewaschenen Munde geht,  
Ein Härlein ausging aus eurem Schoß,



Ueber Nacht wär' er geschoren glatt,  
 Und wär' er so dick wie Absalons Zopf. 570  
 Der Josua war doch auch ein Soldat,  
 König David erschlug den Goliath,  
 Und wo steht denn geschrieben zu lesen,  
 Daß sie solche Fluchmäuler sind gewesen?  
 Muß man den Mund doch, ich sollte meinen, 575  
 Nicht weiter aufmachen zu einem Helf Gott!  
 Als zu einem Kreuz Sackerlot!  
 Aber wessen das Gefäß ist gefüllt,  
 Davon es sprudelt und überquillt.

Wieder ein Gebot ist: Du sollst nicht stehlen. 580  
 Ja, das befolgt ihr nach dem Wort,  
 Denn ihr tragt alles offen fort.  
 Vor euren Klauen und Geiersgriffen,  
 Vor euren Praktiken und bösen Kniffen  
 Ist das Geld nicht geborgen in der Truh, 585  
 Das Kalb nicht sicher in der Kuh,  
 Ihr nehmt das Ei und das Huhn dazu.  
 Was sagt der Prediger? contenti estote,  
 Begnügt euch mit eurem Kommißbrote.  
 Aber wie soll man die Knechte loben, 590  
 Kömmt doch das Vergernis von oben!  
 Wie die Glieder, so auch das Haupt!  
 Weiß doch niemand, an wen der glaubt!

**Erster Jäger.**

Herr Pfaff! uns Soldaten mag Er schimpfen,  
 Den Feldherrn soll Er uns nicht verunglimpfen. 595

**Rapuziner.**

Ne custodias gregem meam!  
 Das ist so ein Ahab und Jerobeam,

Der die Völker von der wahren Lehren  
Zu falschen Götzen thut verkehren.

**Trompeter und Rekrut.**

Laß Er uns das nicht zweimal hören !

600

**Rapuziner.**

So ein Bramarbas und Eisenfresser,  
Will einnehmen alle festen Schlösser.  
Rühmte sich mit seinem gottlosen Mund,  
Er müsse haben die Stadt Stralsund,  
Und wär' sie mit Ketten an den Himmel geschlossen. 605  
Hat aber sein Pulver umsonst verschossen !

**Trompeter.**

Stopft ihm keiner sein Lästermaul ?

**Rapuziner.**

So ein Teufelsbeschwörer und König Saul,  
So ein Jehu und Holofern,  
Verleugnet, wie Petrus, seinen Meister und Herrn, 610  
Drum kann er den Hahn nicht hören fröh —

**Beide Jäger.**

Pfaffe ! Jetzt ist's um dich geschehn !

**Rapuziner.**

So ein listiger Fuchs Herodes —

**Trompeter und beide Jäger** (auf ihn eindringend).  
Schweig stille ! Du bist des Todes !

**Kroaten** (legen sich drein).

Bleib da, Pfäfflein, fürcht' dich nit,  
Sag dein Sprüchel und teil's uns mit.

615



**Kapuziner** (schreit lauter).

So ein hochmütiger Nebuladnezer,  
 So ein Sündenwater und muffiger Keger,  
 Läßt sich nennen den Wallenstein;  
 Ja freilich ist er uns allen ein Stein  
 Des Anstoßes und Aergernisses,  
 Und solange der Kaiser diesen Friedeland  
 Läßt walten, so wird nicht Fried' im Land.

620

(Er hat nach und nach bei den letzten Worten, die er mit erhobener Stimme spricht, seinen Rückzug genommen, indem die Kroaten die übrigen Soldaten von ihm abwehren.)

## Neunter Auftritt.

Vorige, ohne den Kapuziner.

**Erster Jäger** (zum Wachtmeister).

Sagt mir, was meint' er mit dem Göckelhahn,  
 Den der Feldherr nicht krähen hören kann?  
 Es war wohl nur so gesagt ihm zum Schimpf und  
 Hohne?

625

**Wachtmeister.**

Da will ich Euch dienen. Es ist nicht ganz ohne!  
 Der Feldherr ist wunderbar geboren,  
 Besonders hat er gar feigliche Ohren.  
 Kann die Kage nicht hören mauern,  
 Und wenn der Hahn kräht, so macht's ihm Grauen.

630

**Erster Jäger.**

Das hat er mit dem Löwen gemein.

**Wachtmeister.**

Muß alles mausstill um ihn sein.  
Den Befehl haben alle Wachen,  
Denn er denkt gar zu tiefe Sachen.

635

**Stimmen** (im Zelt; Auflauf).

Greift ihn, den Schelm! Schlagt zu! Schlagt zu!

**Des Bauern Stimme.**

Hilfe! Barmherzigkeit!

**Andre Stimmen.**

Friede! Ruh!

**Erster Jäger.**

Hol mich der Teufel! Da seht's Hiebe.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Da muß ich dabei sein! (Laufen ins Zelt.)

**Marktenderin** (kommt heraus).

Schelmen und Diebe!

**Trompeter.**

Frau Wirtin, was seht Euch so in Eifer?


640

**Marktenderin.**

Der Lump! der Spitzbub! der Straßenläufer!  
Das muß mir in meinem Zelt passieren!  
Es beschimpft mich bei allen Herrn Offizieren.

**Wachtmeister.**

Bäschen, was gibt's denn?



**Marktenderin.**

Was wird's geben ?

Da erwischten sie einen Bauer eben,  
Der falsche Würfel thät bei sich haben.

645

**Trompeter.**

Sie bringen ihn hier mit seinem Knaben.

**Zehnter Auftritt.**

Soldaten bringen den Bauer geschleppt.

**Erster Jäger.**

Der muß baumeln !

**Scharfschützen und Dragoner.**

Zum Profosz ! Zum Profosz !

**Wachtmeister.**

Das Mandat ist noch kürzlich ausgegangen.

**Marktenderin.**

In einer Stunde seh' ich ihn hängen !

650

**Wachtmeister.**

Böses Gewerbe bringt bösen Lohn.

**Erster Arkebusier (zum andern).**

Das kommt von der Desperation.

Denn seht, erst thut man sie ruinieren,

Das heißt sie zum Stehlen selbst verführen.

**Trompeter.**

Was? Was? Ihr red't ihm das Wort noch gar? 655  
Dem Hunde! Thut Euch der Teufel plagen?

**Erster Artebusier.**

Der Bauer ist auch ein Mensch — so zu sagen.

**Erster Jäger (zum Trompeter).**

Laß sie gehen! sind Tiefenbacher,  
Gevatter Schneider und Handschuhmacher!  
Lagen in Garnison zu Brieg, 660  
Wissen viel, was der Brauch ist im Krieg.

**Filfter Auftritt.**

Vorige. Kürassiere.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Friede! Was gibt's mit dem Bauer da?

**Erster Scharfschütz.**

's ist ein Schelm, hat im Spiel betrogen!

**Erster Kürassier.**


Hat er dich betrogen etwa?

**Erster Scharfschütz.**

Ja, und hat mich rein ausgezogen. 665

**Erster Kürassier.**

Wie? Du bist ein friedländischer Mann,  
Kannst dich so wegwerfen und blamieren,



Mit einem Bauer dein Glück probieren?  
Der laufe, was er laufen kann.

(Bauer entwischt, die andern treten zusammen.)

**Erster Arkebusier.**

Der macht kurze Arbeit, ist resolut, 670  
Das ist mit solchem Volke gut.  
Was ist's für einer? Es ist kein Böh'm.

**Marktenderin.**

's ist ein Wallon! Respekt vor dem!  
Von des Pappenheims Kürassieren.

**Erster Dragoner** (tritt dazu).

Der Piccolomini, der junge, thut sie jetzt führen. 675  
Den haben sie sich aus eigner Macht  
Zum Oberst gesetzt in der Lützner Schlacht,  
Als der Pappenheim umgekommen.

**Erster Arkebusier.**

Haben sie sich so was 'rausgenommen?

**Erster Dragoner.**

Dies Regiment hat was voraus, 680  
Es war immer voran bei jedem Strauß.  
Darf auch seine eigene Justiz ausüben,  
Und der Friedländer thut's besonders lieben.

**Erster Kürassier** (zum andern).

Ist's auch gewiß? Wer bracht' es aus?

**Zweiter Kürassier.**

Ich hab's aus des Obersts eigenem Munde. 685

**Erster Kürassier.**

Was Teufel! Wir sind nicht ihre Hunde.

**Erster Jäger.**

Was haben die da? Sind voller Gift.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Ist's was, ihr Herrn, das uns mitbetrifft?

**Erster Kürassier.**

Es hat sich keiner drüber zu freuen.

(Soldaten treten herzu.)

Sie wollen uns in die Niederland' leihen;  
Kürassiere, Jäger, reitende Schützen,  
Sollen achttausend Mann aufsitzen.

690

**Marktenderin.**

Was? Was? Da sollen wir wieder wandern?  
Bin erst seit gestern zurück aus Flandern.

**Zweiter Kürassier (zu den Dragonern).**

Ihr Buttlerischen sollt auch mitreiten.

695

**Erster Kürassier.**

Und absonderlich wir Wallonen.

**Marktenderin.**

Ei, das sind ja die allerbesten Schwadronen!

**Erster Kürassier.**

Den aus Mailand sollen wir hinbegleiten.

**Erster Jäger.**

Den Infanten! Das ist ja furios!

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Den Pfaffen! Da geht der Teufel los.

700



**Erster Kürassier.**

Wir sollen von dem Friedländer lassen,  
Der den Soldaten so nobel hält,  
Mit dem Spanier ziehen zu Feld,  
Dem Knauser, den wir von Herzen hassen?  
Nein, das geht nicht! Wir laufen fort.

705

**Trompeter.**

Was, zum Henker! sollen wir dort?  
Dem Kaiser verkauften wir unser Blut  
Und nicht dem hispanischen roten Hut.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Auf des Friedländers Wort und Kredit allein  
Haben wir Reitersdienst genommen;  
Wär's nicht aus Lieb' für den Wallenstein,  
Der Ferdinand hätt' uns nimmer bekommen.

710

**Erster Dragoner.**

Thät uns der Friedländer nicht formieren?  
Seine Fortuna soll uns führen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Laßt euch bedeuten, hört mich an.  
Mit dem Gered' da ist's nicht gethan.  
Ich sehe weiter, als ihr alle,  
Dahinter steckt eine böse Falle.

715

**Erster Jäger.**

Hört das Befehlshuch! Stille doch!

**Wachtmeister.**

Bäschen Gustel, füllt mir erst noch  
Ein Gläschen Melnecker für den Magen,  
Alsdann will ich euch meine Gedanken sagen.

720

**Marketenderin** (ihm einschenkend).

Hier, Herr Wachtmeister! Er macht mir Schrecken.  
Es wird doch nichts Böses dahinter stecken!

**Wachtmeister.**

Seht, ihr Herrn, das ist all recht gut, 725  
 Daß jeder das Nächste bedenken thut;  
 Aber, pflegt der Feldherr zu sagen,  
 Man muß immer das Ganze überschlagen.  
 Wir nennen uns alle des Friedländers Truppen.  
 Der Bürger, er nimmt uns ins Quartier 730  
 Und pflegt uns und kocht uns warme Suppen.  
 Der Bauer muß den Gaul und den Stier  
 Vorspannen an unsre Bagagewagen,  
 Vergebens wird er sich drüber beklagen.  
 Läßt sich ein Gefreiter mit sieben Mann 735  
 In einem Dorfe von weitem spüren,  
 Er ist die Obrigkeit drin und kann  
 Nach Lust drin walten und kommandieren.  
 Zum Henker! sie mögen uns alle nicht  
 Und sähen des Teufels sein Angesicht 740  
 Weit lieber, als unsre gelben Kolletter.  
 Warum schmeißen sie uns nicht aus dem Land? Poß  
 Wetter!  
 Sind uns an Anzahl doch überlegen,  
 Führen den Knüttel, wie wir den Degen.  
 Warum dürfen wir ihrer lachen? 745  
 Weil wir einen furchtbaren Haufen ausmachen!

**Erster Jäger.**

Ja, ja, im Ganzen, da sitzt die Macht!  
 Der Friedländer hat das wohl erfahren,

Wie er dem Kaiser vor acht — neun Jahren  
Die große Armee zusammenbracht. 750  
Sie wollten erst nur von zwölftausend hören :  
Die, sagt' er, die kann ich nicht ernähren ;  
Aber ich will sechzigtausend werben,  
Die, weiß ich, werden nicht Hungers sterben.  
Und so wurden wir Wallensteiner. 755

### Wachtmeister.

Zum Exempel, da hab' mir einer  
Von den fünf Fingern, die ich hab',  
Hier an der Rechten den kleinen ab.  
Habt ihr mir den Finger bloß genommen ?  
Nein, beim Kuckuck, ich bin um die Hand gekommen ! 760  
's ist nur ein Stumpf und nichts mehr wert.  
Ja, und diese achttausend Pferd,  
Die man nach Flandern jetzt begehrt,  
Sind von der Armee nur der kleine Finger.  
Läßt man sie ziehn, ihr tröstet euch, 765  
Wir seien um ein Fünftel nur geringer ?  
Proßt Mahlzeit ! da fällt das Ganze gleich.  
Die Furcht ist weg, der Respekt, die Scheu,  
Da schwillt dem Bauer der Kamm aufs neu,  
Da schreiben sie uns in der Wiener Kanzlei 770  
Den Quartier- und den Küchenzettel,  
Und es ist wieder der alte Bettel.  
Ja, und wie lang wird's stehen an,  
So nehmen sie uns auch noch den Feldhauptmann —  
Sie sind ihm am Hofe so nicht grün, 775  
Nun, da fällt eben alles hin !  
Wer hilft uns dann wohl zu unserm Geld ?  
Sorgt, daß man uns die Kontrakte hält ?

Wer hat den Nachdruck und hat den Verstand,  
 Den schnellen Witz und die feste Hand, 780  
 Diese gestückelten Heeresmassen  
 Zusammen zu fügen und zu passen?  
 Zum Exempel — Dragoner — sprich:  
 Aus welchem Vaterland schreibst du dich?

**Erster Dragoner.**

Weit aus Hibernien her komm' ich. 785

**Wachtmeister** (zu den beiden Kürassieren).

Ihr, das weiß ich, seid ein Wallon;  
 Ihr ein Welscher. Man hört's am Ton.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Wer ich bin? ich hab's nie können erfahren:  
 Sie stahlen mich schon in jungen Jahren.

**Wachtmeister.**

Und du bist auch nicht aus der Näh? 790

**Erster Arkebusier.**

Ich bin von Buchau am Federsee.

**Wachtmeister.**

Und Ihr, Nachbar?

**Zweiter Arkebusier.**

Aus der Schwyz.

**Wachtmeister** (zum zweiten Jäger).

Was für ein Landsmann bist du, Jäger?

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Hinter Wismar ist meiner Eltern Sitz.

**Wachtmeister** (auf den Trompeter zeigend).

Und der da und ich, wir sind aus Eger. 795  
Nun! und wer merkt uns das nun an,  
Daß wir aus Süden und aus Norden  
Zusammen geschneit und geblasen worden?  
Sehn wir nicht aus, wie aus einem Span?  
Stehn wir nicht gegen den Feind geschlossen, 800  
Recht wie zusammen geleimt und gegossen?  
Greifen wir nicht, wie ein Mühlenwerk, flink  
Jneinander auf Wort und Winz?  
Wer hat uns so zusammen geschmiedet,  
Daß ihr uns nimmer unterschiedet? 805  
Kein andrer sonst, als der Wallenstein!

**Erster Jäger.**

Das fiel mir mein Lebtag nimmer ein,  
Daß wir so gut zusammen passen;  
Hab' mich immer nur gehen lassen.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Dem Wachtmeister muß ich Beifall geben. 810  
Dem Kriegsstand kämen sie gern ans Leben;  
Den Soldaten wollen sie niederhalten,  
Daß sie alleine können walten.  
's ist eine Verschwörung, ein Komplott.

**Marktenderin.**

Eine Verschwörung? Du lieber Gott! 815  
Da können die Herren ja nicht mehr zahlen.

**Wachtmeister.**

Freilich! Es wird alles bankrott.  
Viele von den Hauptleuten und Generalen

Stellten aus ihren eignen Kassen  
Die Regimente, wollten sich sehen lassen, 820  
Thäten sich angreifen über Vermögen,  
Dachten, es bring' ihnen großen Segen.  
Und die alle sind um ihr Geld,  
Wenn das Haupt, wenn der Herzog fällt.

**Marktenderin.**

Ach, du mein Heiland! Das bringt mir Fluch! 825  
Die halbe Armee steht in meinem Buch.  
Der Graf Isolani, der böse Zahler,  
Restiert mir allein noch zweihundert Thaler.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Was ist da zu machen, Kameraden?  
Es ist nur eins, was uns retten kann: 830  
Verbunden können sie uns nichts schaden;  
Wir stehen alle für einen Mann.  
Laßt sie schicken und ordenanzten,  
Wir wollen uns fest in Böhmen pflanzen,  
Wir geben nicht nach und marschieren nicht, 835  
Der Soldat jezt um seine Ehre ficht.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Wir lassen uns nicht so im Land 'rum führen!  
Sie sollen kommen und sollen's probieren!

**Erster Artillerist.**

Liebe Herren, bedenk't's mit Fleiß,  
's ist des Kaisers Will' und Geheiß. 840

**Trompeter.**

Werden uns viel um den Kaiser scheren.



**Erster Artebusier.**

Laß Er mich das nicht zweimal hören.

**Trompeter.**

's ist aber doch so, wie ich gesagt.

**Erster Jäger.**

Ja, ja, ich hört's immer so erzählen,  
Der Friedländer hab' hier allein zu befehlen.

845

**Wachtmeister.**

So ist's auch, das ist sein Beding und Pakt.  
Absolute Gewalt hat er, müßt ihr wissen,  
Krieg zu führen und Frieden zu schließen,  
Geld und Gut kann er konfiszieren,  
Kann hängen lassen und pardonieren,  
Offiziere kann er und Obersten machen,  
Kurz, er hat alle die Ehrensachen.  
Das hat er vom Kaiser eigenhändig.

850

**Erster Artebusier.**

Der Herzog ist gewaltig und hochverständlich;  
Aber er bleibt doch, schlecht und recht,  
Wie wir alle, des Kaisers Knecht.

855

**Wachtmeister.**

Nicht, wie wir alle! Das wißt Ihr schlecht.  
Er ist ein unmittelbarer und freier  
Des Reiches Fürst, so gut wie der Bayer.  
Sah ich's etwa nicht selbst mit an,  
Als ich zu Brandeis die Wach' gethan,  
Wie ihm der Kaiser selbst erlaubt,  
Zu bedecken sein fürstlich Haupt?

860

**Erster Artebuffer.**

Das war für das Mecklenburger Land,  
Das ihm der Kaiser versetzt als Pfand.

865

**Erster Jäger** (zum Wachtmeister).

Wie? In des Kaisers Gegenwart?  
Das ist doch seltsam und sehr apart!

**Wachtmeister** (fährt in die Tasche).

Wollt ihr mein Wort nicht gelten lassen,  
Sollt ihr's mit Händen greifen und fassen. (Eine  
Münze zeigend.)

Wes ist das Bild und Gepräg?

**Marketenderin.**

Weist her!

870

Ei, das ist ja ein Wallensteiner!

**Wachtmeister.**

Na, da habt ihr's, was wollt ihr mehr?  
Ist er nicht Fürst so gut, als einer?  
Schlägt er nicht Geld, wie der Ferdinand?  
Hat er nicht eigenes Volk und Land?  
Eine Durchlauchtigkeit läßt er sich nennen!  
Drum muß er Soldaten halten können.

875

**Erster Artebuffer.**

Das disputiert ihm niemand nicht.  
Wir aber stehn in des Kaisers Pflicht,  
Und wer uns bezahlt, das ist der Kaiser.

880

**Trompeter.**

Das leugn' ich Ihm, sieht Er, ins Angesicht.  
Wer uns nicht zahlt, das ist der Kaiser!



Hat man uns nicht seit vierzig Wochen  
Die Löhnung immer umsonst versprochen ?

**Erster Arbeiter.**

Ei was ! Das steht ja in guten Händen. 885

**Erster Bäuerler.**

Fried', ihr Herrn ! Wollt ihr mit Schlägen enden ?  
Ist denn darüber Zanf und Zwist,  
Ob der Kaiser unser Gebieter ist ?  
Eben drum, weil wir gern in Ehren  
Seine tüchtigen Reiter wären, 890  
Wollen wir nicht seine Herde sein,  
Wollen uns nicht von den Pfaffen und Schranzen  
Herum lassen führen und verpflanzen.  
Sagt selber ! Kommt's nicht dem Herrn zu gut,  
Wenn sein Kriegsvolk was auf sich halten thut ? 895  
Wer anders macht ihn, als seine Soldaten,  
Zu dem großmächtigen Potentaten ?  
Verschafft und bewahrt ihm weit und breit  
Das große Wort in der Christenheit ?  
Mögen sich die sein Joch aufladen, 900  
Die mitessen von seinen Gnaden,  
Die mit ihm tafeln im goldnen Zimmer.  
Wir, wir haben von seinem Glanz und Schimmer  
Nichts, als die Müh' und als die Schmerzen,  
Und wofür wir uns halten in unserm Herzen. 905

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Alle großen Tyrannen und Kaiser  
Hielten's so und waren viel weiser.  
Alles andre thäten sie hudeln und schänden,  
Den Soldaten trugen sie auf den Händen.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Der Soldat muß sich können fühlen. 910  
 Wer's nicht edel und nobel treibt,  
 Lieber weit von dem Handwerk bleibt.  
 Soll ich frisch um mein Leben spielen,  
 Muß mir noch etwas gelten mehr.  
 Oder ich lasse mich eben schlachten 915  
 Wie der Kroat — und muß mich verachten.

**Beide Jäger.**

Ja, übers Leben noch geht die Ehr!

**Erster Kürassier.**

Das Schwert ist kein Spaten, kein Pflug,  
 Wer damit ackern wollte, wäre nicht klug.  
 Es grünt uns kein Halm, es wächst keine Saat, 920  
 Ohne Heimat muß der Soldat  
 Auf dem Erdboden flüchtig schwärmen,  
 Darf sich an eignem Herd nicht wärmen,  
 Er muß vorbei an der Städte Glanz,  
 An des Dörfleins lustigen, grünen Auen, 925  
 Die Traubenlese, den Erntekranz  
 Muß er wandernd von ferne schauen.  
 Sagt mir, was hat er an Gut und Wert,  
 Wenn der Soldat sich nicht selber ehrt?  
 Etwas muß er sein eigen nennen, 930  
 Oder der Mensch wird morden und brennen.

**Erster Artebusier.**

Das weiß Gott, 's ist ein elend Leben

**Erster Kürassier.**

Möcht's doch nicht für ein andres geben.  
Seht, ich bin weit in der Welt 'rum kommen,  
Hab' alles in Erfahrung genommen. 935  
Hab' der hispanischen Monarchie  
Gedient und der Republik Venedig  
Und dem Königreich Napoli;  
Aber das Glück war mir nirgends gnädig.  
Hab' den Kaufmann gesehn und den Ritter 940  
Und den Handwerksmann und den Jesuiten,  
Und kein Rock hat mir unter allen  
Wie mein eisernes Wams gefallen.

**Erster Arkebuser.**

Ne! das kann ich eben nicht sagen.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Will einer in der Welt was erjagen, 945  
Mag er sich rühren und mag sich plagen;  
Will er zu hohen Ehren und Würden,  
Bück' er sich unter die goldnen Bürden;  
Will er genießen den Vatersegen,  
Kinder und Enkelein um sich pflegen, 950  
Treib' er ein ehrlich Gewerb' in Ruh.  
Ich — ich hab' kein Gemüt dazu.  
Frei will ich leben und also sterben,  
Niemand berauben und niemand beerben,  
Und auf das Gehudel unter mir 955  
Leicht wegschauen von meinem Tier.

**Erster Jäger.**

Bravo! Just so ergeht es mir.

**Erster Artibusier.**

Luftiger freilich mag sich's haben,  
Ueber anderer Köpf' wegtraben.

**Erster Kürassier.**


Kamerad, die Zeiten sind schwer, 960  
Das Schwert ist nicht bei der Wage mehr;  
Aber so mag mir's keiner verdenken,  
Daß ich mich lieber zum Schwert will lenken.  
Kann ich im Krieg mich doch menschlich fassen,  
Aber nicht auf mir trommeln lassen. 965

**Erster Artibusier.**

Wer ist dran schuld, als wir Soldaten,  
Daß der Nährstand in Schimpf geraten?  
Der leidige Krieg und die Not und Plag'  
In die sechzehn Jahr' schon wahren mag.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Bruder, den lieben Gott da droben, 970  
Es können ihn alle zugleich nicht loben.  
Einer will die Sonn', die den andern beschwert;  
Dieser will's trocken, was jener feucht begehrt.  
Wo du nur die Not siehst und die Plag',  
Da scheint mir des Lebens heller Tag. 975  
Geht's auf Kosten des Bürgers und Bauern,  
Nun, wahrhaftig, sie werden mich dauern;  
Aber ich kann's nicht ändern — seht,  
's ist hier just, wie's beim Einha'n geht:  
Die Pferde schnauben und setzen an, 980



Liebe, wer will, mitten in der Bahn,  
Sei's mein Bruder, mein leiblicher Sohn,  
Zerriss' mir die Seele sein Jammerton,  
Ueber seinen Leib weg muß ich jagen,  
Kann ihn nicht sachte beiseite tragen.

985

**Erster Jäger.**

Ei, wer wird nach dem andern fragen!

**Erster Kürassier.**

Und weil sich's nun einmal so gemacht,  
Daß das Glück dem Soldaten lacht,  
Laßt's uns mit beiden Händen fassen,  
Lang werden sie's uns nicht so treiben lassen.  
Der Friede wird kommen über Nacht,  
Der dem Wesen ein Ende macht;  
Der Soldat zäumt ab, der Bauer spannt ein,  
Eh man's denkt, wird's wieder das Alte sein.  
Jetzt sind wir noch beisammen im Land,  
Wir haben's Heft noch in der Hand.  
Lassen wir uns auseinander sprengen,  
Werden sie uns den Brotkorb höher hängen.

990

995

**Erster Jäger.**

Nein, das darf nimmermehr geschehn!  
Kommt, laßt uns alle für einen stehn!

1000

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Ja, laßt uns Abrede nehmen, hört!

**Erster Artillerist** (ein ledernes Beutelschen ziehend,  
zur Marktetenderin).  
Gevatterin, was hab' ich verzehrt?

**Marktfenderin.**

Ach, es ist nicht der Rede wert! (Sie rechnen.)

**Trompeter.**

Ihr thut wohl, daß ihr weiter geht,  
Verderbt uns doch nur die Societät. (Arkebusierte  
gehen ab.)

1005

**Erster Kürassier.**

Schad' um die Leut! Sind sonst wackre Brüder.

**Erster Jäger.**

Aber das denkt, wie ein Seifensieder.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Jetzt sind wir unter uns, laßt hören,  
Wie wir den neuen Anschlag stören.

**Trompeter.**

Was? wir gehen eben nicht hin.

1010

**Erster Kürassier.**

Nichts, ihr Herrn, gegen die Disziplin!  
Jeder geht jetzt zu seinem Corps,  
Trägt's den Kameraden vernünftig vor,  
Daß sie's begreifen und einsehn lernen:  
Wir dürfen uns nicht so weit entfernen.  
Für meine Wallonen sag' ich gut.  
So, wie ich, jeder denken thut.

1015

**Wachtmeister.**

Terzlas Regimente zu Roß und Fuß  
Stimmen alle in diesen Schluß.

**Zweiter Kürassier** (stellt sich zum ersten).

Der Lombard sich nicht vom Wallonen trennt.

1020

**Erster Jäger.**

Freiheit ist Jägers Element.

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Freiheit ist bei der Macht allein:

Ich leb' und sterb' bei dem Wallenstein.

**Erster Scharfschütz.**

Der Lothringer geht mit der großen Flut,  
Wo der leichte Sinn ist und lustiger Mut.

1025

**Dragoner.**

Der Irländer folgt des Glückes Stern.

**Zweiter Scharfschütz.**

Der Tiroler dient nur dem Landesherrn.

**Erster Kürassier.**

Also laßt jedes Regiment

Ein Promemoria reinlich schreiben:

Daß wir zusammen wollen bleiben,

Daß uns keine Gewalt, noch List

Von dem Friedländer weg soll treiben,

Der ein Soldatenvater ist.

Das reicht man in tiefer Devotion

Dem Piccolomini — ich meine den Sohn —

Der versteht sich auf solche Sachen,

Kann bei dem Friedländer alles machen,

Hat auch einen großen Stein im Brett

Bei des Kaisers und Königs Majestät.

1030

1035

**Zweiter Jäger.**

Kommt! Dabei bleibt's! Schlagt alle ein!

Piccolomini soll unser Sprecher sein.

1040

**Trompeter. Dragoner. Erster Jäger. Zweiter  
Rüraffier. Scharfschützen** (zugleich).

Piccolomini soll unser Sprecher sein. (Wollen fort.)

**Wachtmeister.**

Erst noch ein Gläschen, Kameraden! (Trinkt.)

Des Piccolomini hohe Gnaden!

**Marktenderin** (bringt eine Flasche).

Das kommt nicht aufs Kerbholz. Ich geb' es gern. 1045

Gute Verrichtung, meine Herrn!

**Rüraffier.**

Der Wehrstand soll leben!

**Beide Jäger.**

Der Nährstand soll geben!

**Dragoner und Scharfschützen.**

Die Armee soll florieren!

**Trompeter und Wachtmeister.**

Und der Friedländer soll sie regieren!

1050

**Zweiter Rüraffier** (singt).

Wohl auf, Kameraden, aufs Pferd, aufs Pferd!

Ins Feld, in die Freiheit gezogen.

Im Felde, da ist der Mann noch was wert,

Da wird das Herz noch gewogen.

Da tritt kein anderer für ihn ein,

Auf sich selber steht er da ganz allein.

1055

(Die Soldaten aus dem Hintergrunde haben sich während des Gesangs  
herbeigezogen und machen den Chor.)



**Chor.**

Da tritt kein anderer für ihn ein,  
Auf sich selber steht er da ganz allein.

**Dragoner.**

Aus der Welt die Freiheit verschwunden ist,  
Man sieht nur Herrn und Knechte ; 1060  
Die Falschheit herrschet, die Hinterlist  
Bei dem feigen Menschengeschlechte.  
Der dem Tod ins Angesicht schauen kann,  
Der Soldat allein, ist der freie Mann.

**Chor.**

Der dem Tod ins Angesicht schauen kann, 1065  
Der Soldat allein, ist der freie Mann.

**Erster Jäger.**

Des Lebens Aengsten, er wirft sie weg,  
Hat nicht mehr zu fürchten, zu sorgen ;  
Er reitet dem Schicksal entgegen fest ;  
Trifft's heute nicht, trifft es doch morgen. 1070  
Und trifft es morgen, so laßet uns heut  
Noch schlürfen die Neige der köstlichen Zeit.

**Chor.**

Und trifft es morgen, so laßet uns heut  
Noch schlürfen die Neige der köstlichen Zeit.

(Die Gläser sind aufs neue gefüllt worden, sie stoßen an und trinken.)

**Wachtmeister.**

Von dem Himmel fällt ihm sein lustig Los, 1075  
Braucht's nicht mit Müß' zu erstreben ;

Der Fröner, der sucht in der Erde Schoß,  
Da meint er den Schatz zu erheben.  
Er gräbt und schaufelt, so lang er lebt,  
Und gräbt, bis er endlich sein Grab sich gräbt. 1080

**Chor.**

Er gräbt und schaufelt, so lang er lebt,  
Und gräbt, bis er endlich sein Grab sich gräbt.

**Erster Jäger.**

Der Reiter und sein geschwindes Roß,  
Sie sind gefürchtete Gäste;  
Es flimmern die Lampen im Hochzeitsschloß, 1085  
Ungeladen kommt er zum Feste.  
Er wirbt nicht lange, er zeigt nicht Gold,  
Im Sturm erringt er den Minnesold.

**Chor.**

Er wirbt nicht lange, er zeigt nicht Gold,  
Im Sturm erringt er den Minnesold. 1090

**Zweiter Kürassier.**

Warum weint die Dirn und zergrämet sich schier?  
Laß fahren dahin, laß fahren!  
Er hat auf Erden kein bleibend Quartier,  
Kann treue Lieb nicht bewahren.  
Das rasche Schicksal, es treibt ihn fort, 1095  
Seine Ruh' läßt er an keinem Ort.

**Chor.**

Das rasche Schicksal, es treibt ihn fort,  
Seine Ruh' läßt er an keinem Ort.

**Erster Jäger.**

(faßt die zwei Nächsten an der Hand; die übrigen ahmen es nach, alle, welche gesprochen, bilden einen großen Halbkreis).

Drum frisch, Kameraden, den Rappen gezäumt,  
Die Brust im Gesechte gelüftet! 1100  
Die Jugend brauset, das Leben schäumt,  
frisch auf! eh der Geist noch verdüftet.  
Und sehet ihr nicht das Leben ein,  
Nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen sein.

**Chor.**

Und sehet ihr nicht das Leben ein, 1105  
Nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen sein.

(Der Vorhang fällt, ehe der Chor ganz ausgesungen.)



## A P P E N D I X.

### Soldatenchor.

Es leben die Soldaten!  
Der Bauer gibt den Braten,  
Der Gärtner gibt den Most;  
Das ist Soldatenkost.  
Tra da ra la la la la!

Der Bürger muß uns backen,  
Den Adeln muß man zwacken,  
Sein Knecht ist unser Knecht;  
Das ist Soldatenrecht!  
Tra da, etc.

\* \* \* \*

Heut schwören wir der Hanne  
Und morgen der Susanne,  
Die Lieb' ist immer neu;  
Das ist Soldatentreu'.  
Tra da, etc.

Wir schmausen wie Dynasten,  
Und morgen heißt es fasten;  
Früh reich, am Abend bloß;  
Das ist Soldatenloos.  
Tra da, etc.

Wer hat, der muß uns geben,  
Wer nichts hat, der soll leben !  
Der Ehmann hat das Weib  
Und wir den Zeitvertreib.  
Tra da, etc.

Es heißt bei unsern Festen :  
Gestohlnes schmeckt am besten,  
Unrechtes Gut macht fett ;  
Das ist Soldatengebet.  
Tra da, etc.

## NOTES.

### PROLOG.

**Wiedereröffnung**—12th October 1798. First opened 1780. Used as *Hoftheater* under Goethe's stage-management. Rebuilt by N. Fr. Thouret, the Stuttgart architect, so as to hold 200 more spectators. Burnt down 22d March 1825. The *Prolog* was spoken by the actor Vohs, who appeared in the costume of Max Piccolomini.

Line

1. **Maske** = orig. *Hexe*, *Kinder-fresserin* (Med. Lat. *masca*, fr. *manducare*); hence bogey, ugly face, mask. Here fig. for 'stage.' Comic and tragic masks were used by Greek and Roman actors; cf. Lat. *persona*.
2. **willig**. The neuter adj. term. is frequently omitted; less often the masc.—*der heilig Geist* (*Faust*, 1963); *ein tüchtig Mann*.
3. **hingegen**, *surrendered, abandoned*. The auxiliary is often omitted in the relative clause for terseness and elegance; cf. ll. 14, 20, 49, etc.
6. **Die Kunst, i.e. die Baukunst**.  
zum; cf. l. 62, *zur Dichtung wird*, and such expressions as *zum König machen* (*Lager*, l. 896), *zum Narren haben*, etc.; *Has adorned it for a . . .*, i.e. transformed it into . . .
8. The new theatre was elliptisch, mit einem Säulenkreis dorischer Ordnung.—(D.)  
**Ansprechen**, to address; often, as here, with the idea of exciting sympathetic feelings—*appeals to us*.

## Line

10-21 are thought by some to have been written, or at least suggested, by Goethe. More probably ll. 13-21 were inserted by him, or by his advice. Ll. 18-21 are almost certainly his. See p. liv. for the reasons of his additions and alterations.

14. *Trieb*, *impulse*; the player's enthusiasm for his art.  
*Eifer*, *zeal*; the diligence by which he perfects himself.
15. Iffland, the celebrated actor, had performed at Weimar fourteen times in 1796, and six times in 1798. Goethe speaks of his acting as *ein belehrendes, hinreißendes, unschätzbare Beispiel*.
17. *entzückend . . . , transporting you to . . .* The orig. idea of *entzücken* is the same as that in 'rapture,' and 'transport.' Cf. *hinreißen*.
19. *die Würdigsten*. This has special reference to Friedr. Ludw. Schröder, whose expected visit to Weimar had been deferred, much to Goethe's annoyance. He was held to be the greatest tragic actor of his day. At Hamburg, where he was engaged as chief actor and manager, he did much towards the introduction of Shakespeare's plays. He died in 1816. See p. liii.
23. *And gives the judgment higher laws*: raises the standard of criticism.
24. "*Kreis*" ist nicht die Bühne, sondern der Zuschauer-raum.—(D.) If so, we should more naturally expect *stehen*, but the *sing.* is perfectly legitimate, and more forcible. Some take *Kreis* to mean the whole theatre, and *die neue Bühne* to be in apposition. *Kreis* in l. 28 certainly refers only to the spectators.
25. *Zeugen*. The plural seems to prove that *dieser Kreis* is distinct from *die neue Bühne*, but in the copy of the *Prolog* sent by Goethe (8th October) to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* we find *Zeuge*.
28. *auserlesen*, *select*. The true meaning of *lesen* (as Lat. *legere*, Gr. *λέγειν*) is to 'lay in order,' 'pick out,' 'collect'; hence *Weinlese*, *Blumenlese*, *Nachlese*, *Traubenlese*, etc.
31. *hascht*, *seizes*, or *apprehends*. *Haschen* is to 'pounce down upon' like a hawk or cat; cf. *Häſcher*, bailiff, or constable.



Line

32. Mime (Gr. *μῆμος*), actor.Geht . . . vorüber, *passes before*.34. Wenn, *whereas, whilst* = Während dagegen; cf.—fehlet Bildung und Farbe doch auch der Blüthe des Weinstocks,  
Wenn die Beere, gereift, Götter und Menschen erfreut.

GOETHE.

Gebild. The particle *ge* met with in so many words (and not always readily recognisable, as in *Glauben*, *Glück*, etc.) has the collective force of the Lat. *co* or *con*, and also its secondary meaning, easily deducible from the first, of existence as a concrete result or effect. This force can be recognised in the past participles. *Gebild* is 'that which is formed' (*gebildet*); here, the works or creations of the sculptor's chisel.

38. *verrauscht*, *sweeps away*, or *past*, as a blast of wind, or a rushing stream.40. *die* = *diese*; *i.e.* des Mimen Kunst.42. *geizen mit* . . ., use jealously, as a miser uses his hoard; make the most of.43. *erfüllen*, *fulfil*, in both senses of the word, *i.e.* 'fill out,' 'use to its full extent' (*ausfüllen*), and also 'put to its right use.'46, 47. *nimmt er* . . . *vorans*, *anticipates*, assures beforehand.48. *genug thun* = *genügen*, *satisfy*; hence *Genugthuung*, satisfaction.50. *Der* is dat. sing.

Thalia, the Muse of Comedy; here of the Drama generally.

53. The rage for *Bürgerschauspiel* (revived in later times by the 'adaptations' of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer) was at this time at its height, though showing signs of yielding to the influence of Lessing (died 1781), Goethe, Schiller, and such men as the actor Schröder, all of whom were advocates of Shakespeare and the higher drama. The chief writers of *Bürgerschauspiel* were A. W. Iffland (1759-1814), and that 'most voluminous of modern playwrights,' Kotzebue (1761-1819). One of his plays (*Die Korseu*) preceded the *Lager* on the night of its first performance. The plays of Lessing, which one might be

Line

inclined to class as *bürgerlich*,—viz. Miss Sara Sampson, and Minna von Barnhelm,—are of a very different stamp; in sentiment they are anything but *bürgerlich*. The latter especially gives one, as Goethe says, einen Blick in eine höhere und bedeutendere Welt aus der litterarischen und bürgerlichen, in welcher sich die Dichtung bisher bewegt hatte. We cannot acquit Schiller so completely as regards his *Luise Millerin* (*Kabale und Liebe*).

- 55, 56. *Moment der Zeit*; possibly a reminiscence of Horace's 'horæ momento.' The word 'momentum' (*movimentum*) means 'that which imparts motion,' especially with reference to a balance, 'what turns the scale.' Hence 'crisis,' 'critical or momentous time,' *Entscheidungszeit*. Europe was at this time in a very disturbed and critical state. The French Revolution (1789-1792) had been followed by the wars of the first Coalition (Austria, England, Prussia, Sardinia, and Spain against France). At the time that the *Prolog* was composed Napoleon was engaged in his Egyptian expedition, which was followed in the next year (1799) by the second Coalition.
58. *Grund* = the bottom of the sea (*maris fundus, solum*). Transl. *stir up the depths*.
62. *zur Dichtung*; see l. 6. Compare our expression, 'Truth stranger than fiction.'
63. *Naturen, beings, or powers*. There is a suggestion at least of *Naturgewalt*, 'elemental power,' and of the battle of the Titans. Cf. Carlyle's words quoted, p. xxxv., note.
67. *Schattenbühne*; cf. *Schattenbild*, l. 114.
72. The Peace of Westphalia, concluded at Münster and Osnabrück, 24th October 1648; see p. xli. Indisputably ein willkommener Friede, as the termination of a terrible war, and of immense benefit to Europe, even as temporary compromise; but by a German of the present day naturally regarded as far from satisfactory—ein morscher Bau, as Düntzer styles it. 'To France were ceded Brisac, the Austrian part of Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun . . . to Sweden—Northern Pomerania,

Line

- Bremen, and Verden.'—BRYCE. But in some ways it was a very important departure. It was an abrogation of Roman supremacy, and of the political system with which the Roman Church was associated. It freed the German states from the despotic interference of the Empire, and the Protestants from Papal jurisdiction. By the Pope (Innocent X.) its provisions were declared 'irrita, invalida, iniqua, injusta, damnata, reprobata, inania, virbuseque et effectu vacua, omnino fuisse, esse, et perpetuo fore.'
80. Sedzēhn; speaking accurately, from 23d May 1618 to 22d February 1634. Wallenstein was murdered on the 25th, and the play occupies four days.
82. trübe is 'indistinct,' 'confused,' of both form and colour; hence 'dull,' 'sad,' and also 'chaotic.' Cf. 'rudis indigestaque moles.'
84. Der Tummel or Taumel, orig. = whirling motion, Schwindel; hence, lärmendes Bewegen. Tummelplatz = scene of action, wrestling ground, arena.
85. Magdeburg; see p. xxxv.
88. spricht den Sitten Hohn, scoffs at morality. Sitte = custom (*mos*). Sitten = morals (*mores*).
91. Zeitgrund, a fine compound, meaning the 'background of the times'; or rather the dark 'ground' or surface on which the picture is to be painted. Sich abmalen, depicts itself, with the idea of standing out against the gloomy background.
94. The character of Wallenstein, as described in the following lines, corresponds with that given in Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War*. Some modern writers (see p. xxxix.) credit him with nobler motives, and attribute his fall to the jealousy and treachery of Ferdinand. Schiller seems conscious (l. 102) that his conception may not be entirely in accordance with fact, but he had purposely chosen a hero who 'never is noble, and must never be noble.' See p. xlv.
99. Staffel = Grad, Stufe, Gestell, Niederlage, Gerüste zum Schiffbau (cf. Stapel). Hence also the 'rundle' or 'rung' of a ladder. See *Lager*, l. 435.
102. Cf. Schiller, *Hist. of Thirty Years' War*:—'It is but due

Line

to justice to confess that the writers who have transmitted to us the history of this extraordinary man are not always trustworthy. . . . It was his misfortune while living to incur the enmity of a successful faction; it was his misfortune after death to have his history written by the enemy that survived him.'

104 sq. It is, of course, not the *historical* Wallenstein (as Düntzer asserts) that we are to learn through Art. Schiller held that all dramatic characters should be 'more or less ideal.' He calls his *Wallenstein*, in a letter to Goethe, *eine poetische Fabel*. The only truth for Art is, to use his words, *die tiefliegende Wahrheit, worin alles Poetische besteht*. Art seizes this 'deep-lying truth,' discerns the true inner character of a man (*den Menschen*) amid the 'stress of life,' and, by reducing all that is distorted and 'extreme' to its true and natural proportions and connection, 'gives outline and consistence' to a creation full of life and reality, such as will appeal to our hearts.

110. In its general application this passage means that the poet, discerning real from apparent guilt, attributes the greater part of the latter to circumstance. But there seems to be a special reference to Wallenstein's superstitious belief in the influence of the stars, which belief contributed largely in bringing about the circumstances under which he erred and fell. In neither case should we understand Schiller's words to intimate the agency of a blind inexorable Fate, such as at first he intended to introduce in his drama. His poetic instincts had made him renounce this idea, and he had recognised the fact that, even in the Greek tragedians, Fate operates *through* the human heart—that, as he himself expresses it, *Der Zug des Herzens ist des Schicksals Stimme*. No act of Fate, nor any combination of circumstances, however 'sensational,' can be a legitimate motive in drama. It is those things which, as Epictetus says, depend on ourselves (*ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστίν*)—our 'beliefs, impulses, desires, and aversions'—that are the only true motives. External circumstances can modify the form, but not the nature of our actions. The only power, whose agency we recognise in this drama as in

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a measure *external*, is that 'avenging Nemesis which willed that the Ingrate should owe his ruin to Ingratitude' (Sch. 30jahr. Kr.) Such retribution is in accordance with the laws of justice, both poetical and divine.

117. *verführt*, either pres. indic. or past partic. (= *verführt hat*). This and the following line explain the object that Schiller had in view in composing the *Lager*. See p. lvii.

120. *raschen Schritts*; cf. *stehenden Fußes*, *eilenden Laufs*, *behender Weise*, *unverrichteter Dinge*, etc., and adverbial genitives, as *Abends*, *Anfangs*; also in English, 'unawares,' 'needs,' 'twice,' 'thence,' etc.

*mit einem Mal*, all at once. *Uns Ziel der Handlung*, 'the action's goal,' does not mean (as some explain it) that to which the action of the play tends, viz. the final catastrophe, but that goal towards which a poet, if he follows Horace's rule ('in medias res auditorem rapere'), hurries his audience—the action itself. The *Lager* does not forward the action of the play; it merely presents a 'series of pictures.'

125. The 'unaccustomed tones' are generally explained to be those of metre. So unaccustomed to verse was the German playgoer, that prose versions of even such dramas as *Don Carlos* were used on the stage (*für die Darstellung in Prosa umgeschrieben*). The *Prolog* and the *Lager* were the only parts of the *Wallenstein* written originally in metre; the greater part of the play itself was at first composed in prose; it was recast into verse during the year 1797-98. Lessing's *Nathan* (1779) was the first play in blank verse that held its place on the stage. But surely an allusion to metre would be most awkwardly interpolated here in the midst of a passage where the poet is explaining that the object of this *Vorspiel* is to give us a picture of that 'strange warlike scene,' amidst which his hero is later to appear. The *Lager* is to 'win over ear and heart to the unaccustomed tones' of that scene—to language and character and surroundings so different from those of *Bürgerschauspiel*.

131. The first great German work in which rhyme took the place of alliteration was the *Krist* or *Evangeliumbuch*

## Line

- of Otfried von Weissenburg (A.D. 868). Rhyme, used by medieval Latin writers and by the Arabs (who are thought by some to have introduced it into Europe), was first popularised by the Troubadours, whence it was transmitted to the Minnesingers and the old epic poets of Germany (*Nibelungenlied*, etc.) The early drama (religious and other) was also often rhymed, as for instance the plays (200 in number) of Hans Sachs, the *Meisterfinger*. Goethe says of the *Lager*—*Es hat die Menschen nicht allein sogleich mit dem Reim ausgesöhnt, sondern sogar dessen Bedürfnis erweckt.*
133. *Ja, nay rather.* The sense seems to be, 'rather be grateful to the Muse for using rhyme, and thus reminding you that what you witness is only poetic fiction.' (D.) But possibly gratitude is claimed on general grounds, not merely on account of rhyme.
135. *Hinüberspielt, transfers*, with the idea of illusion, as in such expressions as *einem etwas in die Tasche (in die Hände) spielen*.
137. *Does not deceptively substitute her Fiction for the Truth.* *Unterfchieben* = to 'foist upon,' or to 'substitute for'; here evidently the latter. In a letter to Goethe Schiller says: *Der Künstler soll sich auf eine öffentliche und ehrliche Weise der Wirklichkeit entfernen, und sich daran erinnern, daß ers thut.*
138. A *Spruch* that might be profitably compared or contrasted with the well-known '*ars longa, vita brevis.*'

## LAGER.

The *Soldatenlied*, composed partly by Goethe (see p. liv.), which, at the first representation, was sung (and is still often sung) at the opening of the first scene, is given in the appendix. The scene opens on Sunday (but see l. 55), 22d February 1634.

*Kram- und Trödelbude.* *Kram* is all kinds of smallwares; cf. l. 404. Its orig. meaning is the shop or *Büddchen* for such wares; cf. 'stores.'

*Trödel* is especially secondhand goods, old clothes, etc.

*Feldzeichen*, ensigns or badges, the distinguishing marks of

the various regiments; more generally used for 'ensign' = flag, regimental colours.

Kroaten; see on l. 89. *Ulan*, orig. from Turkish 'oghlan' = *Bursche* then a Polish Tartar (in Lithuania); hence a 'lancer.'

Line

3. *Euch* = ethic dative, or dative of *interest*, as l. 16, and often; here best translated by some expression as 'you'll see,' 'you'll find,' etc. Cf. 'Quid mihi Celsus agit?' 'I should like to know how Celsus is.' *Was machst du mir Vor Liebchens Thür?* (*Faust*, Sc. 18). 'What art thou doing, pray, . . .?'—SHAKESP. *Twelfth Night*, iii. 2. 'Build me thy fortunes upon the basis of valour.' Cf. also the use of 'your' in English, 'I will discharge it in either your straw-coloured beard, your orange-tawny beard . . .'—*Mid. Night's Dream*, i. 2.
5. *Ei was!* *pooh!* *nonsense!* *Ja*, thus placed in a sentence, may often be translated by 'why,' 'surely,' 'you know,' and so on; but its force can frequently be given by mere intonation. Ex. *Laß mich, ich bin ja kein Kind! Sprich dreist, es hört uns ja doch hier niemand!* *fressen*, commonly used of animals.
6. *Though they carry on a little wildly.* *Sich vermessen* is 'to measure oneself wrongly'; hence to be presumptuous, overweening, insolent. *Vermessen* = insolent, extravagant, arrogant (cf. Lat. *improbus*). *Treiben* = *carry on*, *practise* (cf. Lat. *agere*). Ex. *Spaß, Spiel, Musik, u. s. w. treiben*; *toll, fraus, bunt, fein treiben*; *wie man's treibt, so geht es*. Cf. ll. 22, 436.
- 11, 12. Inserted by Goethe to explain where the dice came from—*Um nicht unmotivirt zu lassen, wie der Bauer in den Besitz falscher Würfel kommt.* (D.) See l. 649. *nachlassen, bequeath.* The dice were of course stolen from the dead body.
13. *einmal* (in this sense often pronounced *e'mal* or '*mal*') corresponds to our 'just.' *Guck einmal!* just look! *Das wird einmal eine Lust sein!* That will just be fine fun! *Seh' Er 'mal mich an*, l. 428.
14. *führen* = *fahren machen*, to lead (*Leben führen*, l. 378) or drive; hence, to bring, carry, bear. *Einen Namen*

## Line

führen; Kleines Geld bei sich führen (or haben), to have change about one. *Baßen führen*, l. 48.

Kraft führen = Kraft in sich haben, zeigen, beweisen.  
*Still possess their old power.*

15. sich stellen, *to feign, to pretend to be* . . . Ex. *Sich frant stellen.* Stellt und verstellt Euch, wie ihr wollt, feign and dissemble as you will.

16. dir; see l. 3.

17. Notice that lassen, as Fr. *faire*, Ital. *fare*, takes act. infin. where we use the passive. See on l. 844.

schön thun, *flatter*, address with caressing words. 'They like being flattered and praised.' Also = flirt, coquet. *Er thut ihr schön* (kareffiert sie). Mit Fortschritts-ideen schön thun (koffettieren).

21. drein schlagen (cf. on l. 483), lit. *interfere with blows or the sword*, join the fray; as darein reden, interrupt with words; sich darein legen, interpose. *If they slash about roughly with their swords, we'll be cunning and work it sily.* Cf. on l. 6.

24. *All this comes from the peasant's skin, i.e. the peasant suffers (or is fleeced) for all this.* The expression contains the idea of suffering rough treatment (einem das Fell gerben, etc.), and also of being fleeced (schinden; einem das Fell über die Ohren ziehen).

25. The expedition of Wallenstein to Silesia and his feint in the direction of Regensburg (see p. xxxix.) had occupied the greater part of 1633. His main body had not therefore at this time been eight months, but only about three, in Bohemia. But in l. 38 Terzky's Bohemian regiments are stated to have been schon lange in diesen Quartieren.

27. Aue (prob. from same root as Lat. 'aqua') = wasserum-flossenes Land (Werder), low-lying meadowland.

29. für is frequently used by Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, and others, where in modern German we expect vor, with which word it was orig. identical, governing a dative case.

31. fraus, curly; hence—entangled, *disorderly*.



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32. *thät* (= *that*) is the old form of the imperf. (*ich tēte*), used still in poetry and im Volksmunde. This use of *thun* (cf. our 'do') is frequent in the *Lager*. Cf. *das ich zum Kränzchen pflanzen thät* (Bürger, *Ged.*) *Da thät ich ihr Haupt bescheeren* (Stolberg, *Ged.*) *Thu' mir's Bett machen!* etc.

*pochen* = rap, pound; hence of violent, extortionate conduct. Cf. *auf Gewalt pochen*. For the invasion of Bohemia by the Saxons under Arnheim, see p. xxxvi. This passage does not quite agree with l. 289 *sq.*, nor with history.

34. *ein paar*, as our 'a couple,' not necessarily 'two.'

37. *Terzſka* (as the Bohemian 'Trczka' is pronounced), *Terzka*, or *Terzky*, was Wallenstein's brother-in-law, and commanded five Bohemian regiments, of which one was Wallenstein's 'own.' To this belong the *Wachtmeister*, *Trompeter* (both Bohemians from Eger, l. 795), and *Konstabler*. See l. 82.

40. *Spreizen ſich*, *swagger*; the idea is that of *ſich breit, oder groß machen*.

*ſich in die Bruſt werfen*, to give oneself airs. Cf. *ſich brüſten*.

41. *fürnehm* = *vornehm*; see on l. 29. Cf. *fürlieb* and *vorlieb*, *fürbaß* (l. 444).

43. *die drei ſcharfe . . .* According to grammatical rules this should, of course, be *die drei ſcharfen . . .* But there is not the slightest reason on this account for accepting pedantic emendations, such as *dort ſeh' ich dir* (ethic dat.). The ordinary adjectival terminations are by no means used with accuracy by uneducated people, such as this peasant, nor in Old German. Ex. *ſeine ſaubere Brüder*, in the Capuchin's sermon (see original, on l. 483). Moreover, *ſcharf* is here not an ordinary adj. but rather a part of the compound *Scharfſchützen*. At the same time the *die* seems here unnecessary. If it is to stand it may be the demonstrative pron. — 'those three sharpshooters there.'

45. The *Scharfſchützen* are mostly *luſtige Tiroler*. One who speaks later is from Lothringen (Lorraine), l. 1024, the other from Tyrol.

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46. *Emmerich*, orig. *Ambricho* or *Emricho*, 'of doubtful origin' (Weigand), a not uncommon Christian or surname.
48. *föhren Batzen* (l. 14), *have coin*. The *Batzen*, worth 4 Kreuzer ( $\frac{1}{8}$ th Gulden), was first coined at Bern (1492); so called from the *Bätz* (= *Bär*) stamped on it; current in South Germany and Switzerland till introduction of the modern coinage. There were also *Dreibätzner* and *Sechsbätzner*. The *Hessenbatzen* was worth  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Kreuzer. Ex. Wenn die Kuh einen Batzen gilt; d. h. niemals.
49. *Halunk*, prob. from Bohemian 'holý' = naked, poor; hence beggar, rascal. Also written *Hollunke* and *Holunke* (Sch. *Räuber*, i. 2, etc.) The *Trompeter* (in whom some recognise a *Schattenbild* of the faithful Terzky) is the 'echo' of the pompous and sententious *Wachtmeister*, who apes Wallenstein himself. See l. 202 *sq.* A *Wachtmeister*, or *Wachmeister*, is a troop-sergeant-major (cavalry). An infantry sergeant is *Feldwebel*. This *Wachtmeister* is a mounted carbineer (ll. 105 and 113).
50. *Gnädiger Herr*, the ordinary form of address used by servants. Even among equals *gnädige Frau* and *gnädiges Fräulein* are often heard. Here it expresses servility.
52. *das muß . . .*, generally a contemptuous expression; cf. l. 119, *Was . . . mögen das sein*; l. 1007, *das denkt*; l. 159, *das muß der Kaiser ernähren*; l. 162, *das fürcht sich*; applied by the Capuchin to Wallenstein, l. 597; *Minna v. Barnhelm*, iv. 2—*Was ist das? Will das zu uns?*
55. Possibly because the arrival of the duchess made it a 'double Sunday.' See l. 487. (An ordinary *Feiertag* is often called *Sonntag* by the common people.) This 'double pay' scarcely agrees with the statements made in l. 883 that the troops had not been paid for forty weeks. Cf. *Pic.* ii. 7.
57. *ja*; see on l. 5.  
*herein*, i.e. to the camp. Cf. l. 7.  
 The Duchess of Friedland, Wallenstein's wife, and their daughter Maria Elizabeth (a child of ten years, who

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afterwards married Graf Rudolph von Kaunitz, were really during the whole of this time (22d to 25th February) at Brück in Lower Austria. Schiller makes them here arrive with the fictitious Max Piccolomini, and he transforms the child Maria Elizabeth into Thekla.

66. *Generäle* (l. 818) is the more correct form, used by Schiller in prose. (Also *die Generals*.)

*Kommandant*, the Lat. form (*commendare*) instead of the more usual *Kommandant* (Ital. *comandante*).

67. *geheuer*; orig. = warm, comfortable (Scand. 'hyr' = Feuer); hence of persons—*ruhig*, *besonders vor dem Unheimlichen* (Weigand); also of things—*cannie*. *Ungeheuer* = uncannie, monstrous.

69. *für die Langweil*; *i.e.* for no object.

*Sind herbemüht*, have troubled themselves to come.  
Ex. *Wollen sie sich herein bemühen* = will you be good enough to come in.

70. *Geschäfte*; cf. on l. 34.

71. The 'old wig' is the Imperial Envoy, the *Kriegsrat von Questenberg*, who appears later in the play. It is he that brings the demand for the Infante's escort (see l. 690 sq.) In history it is not Questenberg but Father Quiroga (confessor of the Queen of Hungary) who is sent with this demand. Goethe at first objected to the expression *alte Perrücke*, and Schiller proposed to substitute other lines, in which *der spanische steife Kragen* was to take its place. The long powdered wig of office (*Allongeperrücke*) was used first at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

73. *gulden* and *gülden*, old forms of *golden* still used in poetry.

80. *herunterfragen*, *get him down*. *Kriegen*, almost exactly our 'get' (obtain), is used very frequently in ordinary conversation.

82. The *Wachtmeister*, as usual with an officer speaking to his subordinates, uses *Du* to the *Trompeter*, while the latter addresses him as *Ihr*. Notice the various forms of address as they occur—*Er*, formal (or sarcastic); *Ihr*, polite and respectful; *Du*, familiar, as between Kroat

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- and *Scharffschütz*, Sc. 3, or abusive, as ll. 612, 614, as compared with ll. 595, 600.
86. *gewogen* (*wägen*), well-disposed, biassed towards. The idea is that of weight acting in a certain direction; cf. *zugeneigt*.
87. *doch* (cf. l. 591) in such collocation is explanatory: 'You see, he has brought us all up himself.'
- Heranziehen* (cf. *heran wachsen*) = *großziehen*, rear; *Erziehen* = educate.
90. *Kroat*. *Isolani's* Croats represent the lowest type of bandit-soldiery—stupid, rapacious animalism, despised by its fellows as mere 'food for powder' (l. 915). They had just arrived from the Danube (*Pic.* i. 1), and had on the way captured a Swedish provision transport of 600 waggons. They were called also *Krabaten*; whence the word *Kravatte*, *cravat* (necktie).
91. *Handle*, sc. *ich*; cf. 116, 136-138, etc.
92. *Terzerol* (plur. generally *e*), Ital. *terzuelo* = *Taschenpistole*, from *terzuolo* = Lat. *tertiolus*, male hawk, tercel. It was believed that every *third* young bird in the nest was a male 'eyas.'
- 'To lure this tassel (tercel) gentle back again.'
- SHAKESP. *Rom. and Jul.* ii. 2.
- The names of birds used for hawking were transferred to firearms; hence *Terzerol*, *falkaune*, and *falkonet* (falconet, small cannon).
93. *Nix*, a not uncommon form of *nichts* used by ill-educated people, and also by others as slang. *Nix zu handeln?* is the cry of old-clothes men; '*Nix mangiare*' is used by the beggars in Malta. Here = *no*, *no!* The Croat also uses *nit* for *nicht*, l. 615.
98. *Sonnen*, the old gen. fem. termination; cf. *Sonnenschein*, *Frauenkirche*, auf *Erden*, auf der *Leipziger Messen* (l. 122), von der *wahren Lehren* (l. 598), von seiner *Paten* (l. 406), in der *Wüsten* (l. 544).
100. *Es ist mir nur um . . .*, 'I only care for . . .'; cf. l. 327.
101. *pressen* = to toss, make to bounce (*prassen* = to bounce). The meaning *to cheat* (*einem übel mitspielen*) dates

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only from the first half of the eighteenth century, and is said to come from the practice of tossing a captured fox in a blanket (Weigand).

103. The expression is evidently meant to be pompous, instead of *Deine Mütze gefällt mir wohl*. „Diese köstliche Dummheit des Kroaten (writes a friend to me), der zuletzt so bombastisch feierlich spricht!“

104. Konstabler (*comes stabuli*; cf. *magister equitum*) and Konstabel, Fr. *connétable*, = orig. Befehlshaber zur Lager- oder Festungsbewachung; hence ‘inspector of ordnance,’ then simply a ‘gunner’ or ‘artilleryman.’

105. Bruder, *comrade*. Both belong to Wallenstein’s regiment.

108. Ihm; see on l. 82. The Wachtmeister apes Wallenstein in his policy of inaction. The commands and remonstrances of Ferdinand (see p. xxxix.) during the last few months had been met with the excuse that ‘the roads were not practicable’; cf. *Pic.* ii. 7, 1138 and 1187 sq.—

Was denkt die Majestät von ihren Truppen?

Sind wir nicht Menschen? nicht der Kält’ und Nässe,

Nicht jeder Nothdurft sterblich unterworfen?

111. Schiller wished (happily too late for the first performance) to change this *Eilbot* into the arrival of das Prager Blatt. The gunner was to enter with the newspaper in his hand. Regensburg had fallen nearly two months before this. The poet is, of course, not bound by such facts, but this passage is scarcely consistent with Questenberg’s demand in *Pic.* ii. 7, 1189:—

Seine Majestät will Regensburg

Vor Opfern noch vom Feind gesäubert sehn,

Daß länger nicht im Dome lutherisch

Gepredigt werde.

113. aufsitzen = be mounted; *get to horse*. Cf. l. 692.

114. wohl gar, here sarcastic = ‘O, indeed!’ ‘O yes, of course . . .’

Bayer = Maximilian (p. xxxiv.).

116. werden, sc. wir; cf. l. 91. ‘We shall not just heat ourselves overmuch,’ i.e. we shall not overtire ourselves at that job.

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117. *was . . . wißt!* corresponds to our expression, 'How wise we are!' *Alles* and *all* are often used in loose construction—*Der Schauplatz all meiner Glückseligkeit* (Goethe); *Was man nicht Alles für Leute kennt* (l. 173, cf. 175); *Ich weiß nicht, wer sie Alles für Menschen waren; Wer kommt denn Alles?* etc.

120. *Treten . . . ein*, lit. *enter*, approach. We should more naturally say, 'What greencoats are those approaching? They look spruce and stately enough!'

121. General von Holk (a Dane by birth, native of the island Alsen) had obtained notoriety through his capture of Leipzig, from which he exacted *Brandſchatz*, and from his terrible devastation (1632-1633) of Saxon Voigtland and the Erzgebirg; see l. 226. He died of typhus, August 30, 1633. It was a saying that Holk's troops had bought at the Leipzig Fair 'pestilence, misery, and the punishment of God' (Düntzer). These *Jäger* (*chasseurs*) are some of the *neue Völker* mentioned l. 7. The first *Jäger* is a typical soldier of fortune; he has served under various leaders on both sides, and acknowledges no duty except towards the chief under whom he serves (l. 322), no principles of life except those of liberty (*Freiheit iſt Lebens Element*, l. 1021) and pleasure (l. 235 *sq.*), though he has a rough conception of chivalry and of honour (*Ja, übers Leben noch geht die Ehr!* l. 917). He speaks out whatever he thinks (l. 335), and, while openly attributing treasonable ambition to Wallenstein (l. 325 *sq.*), is the first to interrupt and threaten the Capuchin when the personal character of his chief is attacked. Towards superstitions of all kinds he is contemptuously sceptical (ll. 363, 632). He has a full share of self-respect (l. 398, etc.), and is proud of his literary accomplishments (l. 437, etc.)

*Treffen* (Ital. *treccia*, Eng. *tress*; possibly from Gr. *τρίχας*, threefold) = *Flechten*, *Litzen*, *Borten*; 'lacings,' 'silver cord.'

122. *Messen*; see on l. 98. An evident allusion to the saying mentioned on l. 121; but here the sense is rather 'they did not buy them, but stole them.' *Messe* = mass; hence festival and Fair, esp. an international Fair for wholesale business (cf. *Kirmes*, or *Kirmse*, country

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fair). The celebrated Leipzig Fairs are at Easter, Michaelmas, and New Year. The name for an ordinary local fair is *Jahrmarkt*. Notice the indecl. term. *er* in adjs. formed from names of towns.

124. 'Gustel of Blasewitz,' to whom Schiller has here given a not very enviable immortality as a Sutler woman, was Johanna Justine (Auguste) Segedin. Her father was gate-keeper of the Dresden *Großer Garten* (the Strehlen entrance), and died in the same year as she was born (1763). Her mother then took over a *Schenkwirt* (now the favourite Restaurant 3. *Schillergarten*) in Blasewitz, and married again. Schiller made Gustel's acquaintance while residing in Loschwitz with Körner (p. xlviii.). She married in 1787 (while Schiller was still in Dresden) the Advocate Chr. Friedr. Renner, who in 1798 was elected as senator into the Dresden *Stadttrat*. Some assert that Frau Senator Renner resented the liberty taken by the poet; but her still surviving acquaintances in Dresden and Blasewitz declare that she was proud of the distinction, and spoke of Schiller with admiration. There is a tablet inserted to her memory in the house where she resided in Dresden (*Drehgasse*. 3.) The inscription on her tomb (in the *Eliaskirchhof*) is: *Frau Johanna Justine Renner geb. Segedin, geb. den 5 Jan. 1763, gest. den 24 Febr. 1855*. The good people of Blasewitz cherish the absurd story that Schiller fell in love with Gustel, and was refused by her (*befam einen Korb*). Verses are to be seen on the subject in the *Schillergarten*. There is a comedy *Gustel von Blasewitz* by Schlesinger.

125. *Ich freilich! ay, surely!* A genuine Saxon expression; as also *nu freilich!*

*Muſſjō* = monsieur; often used in joke, or in familiar address, as *Muſſjō Fritz*, etc. Cf. Shakespeare's 'Monsieur Cobweb,' 'Monsieur Mustardseed,' etc.

126. Düntzer asserts that Schiller used the word *lang* here because of the unusual height of the actor (*Leissring*) who was to take the part of the first *Jäger*.

*ſehō*, rather *ſehoe* (orig. *ſeho*), the oldest town in Holstein, on the Stör, near the mouth of the Elbe. Glückstadt is in its neighbourhood, on the Elbe.

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 127. Gold coins are (from their colour) called *füchse* or *Gold-füchse*, especially in University slang (*burſchikos*).
137. *Ihr*, dat. of *Sie* (fem. sing.), used as *Er* (l. 125, etc.)  
*Das ſtellt ſich dar*, *that's easy to see*; lit. 'that shows itself,' *i.e.* in your face.
138. *Temeswar* near *Gran* is probably meant. It is not true that *Wallenstein* penetrated so far into Hungary after the defeat of *Mansfeld*, near *Dessau*. See p. xxx.
141. *Stralsund*; see p. xxxi. Here, and l. 604, wrongly accentuated on second syllable.
142. *dorten*; see on l. 862.
143. *Suffurs* = *Verſtärkung*, *reinforcement*. For the extraordinary medley of Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and German to be found in contemporary records, despatches, etc. (especially those relating to military matters), see *Trench's Gustavus Adolphus*, p. 129; and cf. on l. 347. In 1629, shortly before *Wallenstein's* deposition, a large body of troops, under *Gallas* and *Altringer*, was sent by *Ferdinand* into Italy in support of Spanish interests, and ejected from *Mantua* *Charles Duke of Nevers*, who was the rightful heir of the late *Duke Vincenzo*, but who had, relying on French support, refused feudal allegiance to the empire. (See *Sch.*, 30j<sup>ahr</sup> *Kr.* ii.)
144. *Alvarez de Figuera*, Duke of *Feria*, was sent (1633) by the Spanish Cardinal *Infante* with troops from *Milan* to *Swabia*.
149. *Ob* may be taken with *probiren*; but it is often used without any preceding verb.
151. *Alles*, *all of them* (*i.e.* your debtors); frequently thus used, as *alles ausſteigen*! 'all change!' *Es wird alles banckerott*, l. 817. Cf. on l. 117.
156. The usual expression is *am Leibe abſparen*, to save by curtailing personal expenses, amusements, etc.
159. *das*, as below, l. 162; see on l. 52.
161. In his *History* *Schiller* describes the *Feldſchulen* for soldiers' children in the army of *Gustavus Adolphus*. These, says *Düntzer*, *Schiller* has in *das Wallenſteiniſche Lager übertragen*. Another writer (*Schaefer*), however,



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states that they were actually introduced into the imperial camp. The numbers of camp-followers, children, etc., were enormous. 'During the last period of the war in an army of 40,000 soldiers one might reckon on 180,000 camp-followers' (Müller).

162. *fürcht* = *fürchtet*, a common contraction. One frequently hears *er hat sich gefürcht*; cf. *verpflicht* = *verpflichtet*, l. 322; *er ist gericht* = *gerichtet* (in *Ein' feste Burg*); *Dahin sind meine Gedanken gericht* (P. Gerhardt).

163. *ſie*; *i.e.* die Gäste.

165. *Reich*; wie zu Schillers *Zeit Franken* (Franconia) und *Schwaben* (Swabia) allgemein hießen (Düntzer); *i.e.* in contrast to the Austrian *Erblände*.

170. *beim Element* = (probably) *by the holy element*, *i.e.* by the Host (*das Hochwürdige*). It may, however, merely be an ejaculation like *Donnerwetter!* cf. *Räuber*, ii. 1, *Wetter Element!*

173. See on l. 117.

180. *warm* = *bequem*.

181. For the rhyme to *Böhmen*, see on l. 497.

182. *Einem etwas ansehen* = to recognise something in a person's looks; cf. *anmerken*, l. 796. Transl. 'One wouldn't think it from your looks.'

*galant*. *Minna v. Barnhelm*, i. 2, *Das Zimmer ist doch sonst galant und tapeziert*; cf. *Galanteriewaaren* = *Putzartikel*. The word (as Eng. 'gallant') is not now commonly used in this sense.

183. See on l. 121. The *Saalfreis* was a small province on the lower Saale (chief town, Halle); here it is used loosely for W. Saxony, Voigtland, etc.

*Meißen*, on the Elbe, some fifteen miles below Dresden, one of the oldest towns of Saxony, and in early times the seat of the Markgrafen von Meissen, from whom is descended the present royal house of Saxony (Haus Wettin).

187. *Nachlese*; see on *Prolog* l. 28.

188. The plural, *Spitzen*, 'points,' is the ordinary word for lace. *Der Spitz* is used in Bavaria for *die Spitze*. (It also means a pointed-nosed Pomeranian dog; a

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sharp-eared eavesdropper; the 'point' at which a man may be called really tippy.)

191. Was das alles . . . ; see on l. 117.

Wirkung thut, usually Wirkung macht.

193. unser, genit. case.

9 194. Dafür, as for that . . . , i.e. to make up for that; 'but then.'

fürchte mich weder vor Hölle noch Teufel—

Dafür ist mir auch alle Freud' entrisßen.—FAUST.

Regiment; see on l. 37.

197. Namen führen; see on l. 14.

198. so, as it were, so to say; a very common use of the word, denoting a contemptuous generalisation, as so draußen, l. 203; cf. so ein Ahab, l. 597.

204. Der feine Griff = delicate touch, tact; cf. l. 234.

205. lernt sich, is learnt, gets learnt; cf. das liest sich leicht, 'that's easy reading'; es fährt sich gut, etc.

206. bekommen = (1) obtain, (2) to suit, become, be of use to. *It was of poor use to you, this lesson.*

208. ihm . . . abgesehen = learnt by watching him. For this force of ab, cf. abgesehen, abgesehen, abgesehen (gestohlen), abgesehen, etc.; cf. Molière, *Femmes Savantes*, i. 1—

'Et ce n'est pas du tout la prendre pour modèle

Ma sœur, que de tousser et de cracher comme elle.'

209. Schenie = Genie (often so pronounced); see l. 347.

211. Wetter auch! cf. Der Donner auch! Der Geier auch! Der Teufel auch! etc. Auch seems merely intensive.

212. The Saga of the *Wild Huntsman* (originating probably in Wustan or Odin) is known to most through the poem of Bürger, and Weber's *Freischütz*. Körner, the poet, named (evidently with reference to this passage) the Jäger regiment which he joined (1813) Lützows wilde Jagd.

216. See on l. 121.

218. Sündflut, deluge. Through the notion (as old as the thirteenth century, when we find Sündenflut) that the

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word meant 'a flood brought by sin,' Sündflut found its way, in spite of Luther's efforts, into his Bible and into the German language. It should be Sinflut, *i.e.* the universal flood. Sin = entire, whole, eternal. Cf. *Sinlif* (Old Saxon) = ewiges Leben; *Sinniht* (A.S.) = ewige Nacht; *Sindau* = sundew (*drosera*); *Sinngrün* = periwinkle (*vinca*).

222. gilt, *exists, is regarded*; cf. *Es gilt sein Leben*, his life is concerned, is at stake.

224. fennigt = sehnigt. Senne, an unusual form of Sehne, sinew.

229. aber orig. meant 'again,' 'extra.' Scand. *afar* = in hohem Grade, zu viel; hence Uberglauben, Überwitz, abermals, etc. Cf. Tausend und aber tausend; schon und aber schon (Goethe); an abertausend Enden (Goethe).

233. das Tempo = das Marschtempo; hence also die Haltung, die soldatische Art und Weise des Auftretens.

234. der Begriff, die Bedeutung; *i.e.* the way he looks at (understands) things, and the significance of what he says. Begriff is mental, Griff rather physical, but used also figuratively (l. 204).

235. Mit = weg mit, away with.

fräzen = grimaces; hence *fooleries*. Cf. *Pic.* iv. 7, der fräzen braucht's nicht.

237. Lehre, apprenticeship; cf. Lehrbursche, Lehrjahr, Lehrbrief (indentures).

238. die froh', lit. socage (labour done for the lord of the manor); hence *labour*. Cf. fröner, drudge, labourer. The old word frohn (= heilig, herrschaftlich) is said to be connected with froh, frau (die frohmachende, Milde), and freyja (the goddess). It was applied to sacred relationships, as between gods and men, or lords and vassals.

Galeere, *i.e.* hard labour.

241. flott, lit. 'afloat'; hence 'swimmingly,' easily. Cf. flott singen, flott arbeiten, es geht ihm flott von der Hand.

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243. frisch = muthig, 'quickly' and 'boldly' being synonyms; cf. l. 247, and frisch in die Weite, l. 390.

246. anwandelt, *befall*. The usual word to express an attack (Anwandlung) of grief, anger, illness, etc. The indicative seems to give rather the sense, 'I have enlisted *because* as a soldier no cares befall me.' But the indicative is often used colloquially where we should expect the subjunctive.

247. ins Feuer, *under fire*, or rather = in die Schlacht hinein.

249. soll, *should*, or *even though*.

253. Nu = nun. The sense is, Sucht Ihr nichts weiter, als Gefahren, Abenteuer und dergl., so findet Ihr das im Holfischen Corps.

254. Wamms, *jerkin*, worn next to the skin; see on l. 359.

259. Zapfen = a cone-shaped object (Eiszapfen, Canna-zapfen, etc.); hence 'plug' or 'bung,' used for beer and wine casks. Zapfenstreich = the 'tattoo' (Trommelschlag) at which casks are to be bunged up and soldiers to return to barracks.

261. kanzelt' uns, *preached us a sermon*; using his charger as his Kanzel.

263. passieren lassen, *let pass, allow*; cf. l. 275.

264. Mußten, *sc. wir*.

266. Under Bernhard of Weimar and other generals the discipline and morals of the Swedish army were no longer what they had been under Gustavus.

267. Eignisten; see p. xxii.

268. Magdeburg; see p. xxxv.

269. schon; used very frequently in such expressions. Cf. Schon gut! das muß schon etwas sein, etc. 'Already another thing' we express by 'quite another thing.'  
ander; see on *Prol.* l. 2.

271. Mädels; cf. Fräuleins, Kerls, bei den Müllers, etc., besides many foreign nouns, as Generals, Banquiers, Ballons, etc.

die Menge, as also die fülle, is used in apposition, adverbially = *in abundance*.

273. Tilly; see *Hist. Sketch*.

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279. The 'Leipzig calamity' was the battle of Breitenfeld, 7th September 1631.
280. *eben nirgends*, as we say, 'just nowhere.'  
*flecken* = vom Flecke kommen, von staten gehen, get )  
 on, succeed.
281. *Came to a standstill*; cf. *In Zorn geraten*, 'get in a rage'; *in Brand geraten*, 'get on fire,' etc.
284. *uns drücken* (lit. 'press ourselves') *slink*. Cf. *sich heimdrücken*, 'sneak home'; *sich längs der Häuser hindrücken*, 'slink along close to the houses,' etc.
286. *Handgeld*, *bounty*; the recruiting sergeant's 'shilling.'  
 Also = earnest-money in sales (cf. Lat. *mancipium*), or the 'first takings' in a shop.
289. Refers to the invasion of Bohemia by the Saxons under Arnheim, 1631. See p. xxxvi.
294. For the half-hearted policy of Johann Georg of Saxony see pp. xxxv.-vi. 'What energy he had,' says Trench, 'was mainly expended in pursuits of the chase. A mighty Nimrod, he had killed with his own hands, or seen killed under his eyes, 113,629 wild animals. Hard drinking was at that day in Germany so common as to be little noteworthy, but he so far exceeded as to have earned for himself the nickname of the Beer King, or, more contemptuous still, the Beer Jug.'
298. *für*=*vor*; see on l. 29.
301. See p. xxxviii.
304. *Euch*; cf. l. 3.
305. *es besser kaufen*, *get a better bargain, fare better*.
307. *hat einen großen Schnitt*, *i.e.* is on a grand scale.
309. *Windesweben*, *stormblast*. *Weben* = to weave; hence, to toss to and fro. Cf. Ep. James, i. 6—*die Meereswoge, die vom Winde getrieben und gewebet wird* (driven and tossed).
311. *auftreten*, lit. to step forward (on to the scene, etc.); hence 'bear oneself,' 'carry oneself.'
312. *wegschreiten*, ll. 959, 984. Cf. our use of 'away.'
- 317, *sq.* *fürwichtig*, usually *vornwichtig*. Cf. *fürnehm*, l. 41, and see on l. 29. *fürwichtig* is still frequently used for

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*Dormig* (forwardness, meddlesome inquisitiveness). Schiller in his *History* says of Wallenstein: 'Of such obedience as he exacted no commander of modern or medieval times can boast. In this he exercised his soldiers by arbitrary and capricious orders, lavishly requiring a ready compliance, even in the merest trifles; for he considered that obedience to an order was more important than the object for which the order was given. . . . His liberal views and keen intelligence kept him free from the religious prejudices of his age; and the Jesuits could never endure the fact that he saw through their system, and looked upon the Pope as nothing more than the Bishop of Rome.' See l. 593.

322. *verpflicht*; see on l. 162.

327. *um*; see on l. 100. For the *Jäger's* sentiments see, on l. 121.

332. *anstecken* = (1) to fix on; (2) to infect; (3) to set on fire—the idea being that of *contact*; as in Gr. *ἄντρεω* = 1) fasten on; (2) set on fire. Transl. *To set on fire and ablaze.*

333. *To arrogate* (or *presume*) and *subject all to himself*. *Sich vermaßen*; see on l. 6. It is not generally transitive, but *alles* can be taken as an accus. of respect.

339. See on l. 317.

343. *Umschlagen*, used especially of sudden changes in the weather or wind; 'change,' 'shift round.' An old epitaph on Wallenstein (*Theatr. Eur.*, iii. p. 185) describes him as one—

Der große Kriegsmacht zusammen bracht,  
Doch nie gelieffert recht ein' Schlacht.

It is true that, as Trench says, 'he only fought one pitched battle (Lützen), and that he lost,' for the defeat of Mansfeld at the *Deffauer Brücke* was scarcely a pitched battle. But Lützen was regarded by the imperial party as a moral if not an actual victory; and the continued success of Wallenstein as a *Schöpfer fühner Scharen* testifies to the confidence with which his skill and good fortune were regarded by the soldiery.

345. *Tilly*, 'the victor in thirty-six battles,' was defeated by

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Gustavus at Breitenfeld, and again at the passage of the Lech. See p. xxxvi.

347. *victorifizieren*; for foreign words cf. ll. 209, *Schenie*; 355, *Uffair*; 440, *Schef*; 458, *Permiß*; 143, *Suffurs*; 833, *Ordenanzen*; 1034, *Devotion*.

349. *Zeichen*, *flag*, *ensign*. Cf. Lat. *signum*.

353. *Sold*, *pay*; from Med. Lat. *solidus* (*soldus*), orig. a gold coin worth about 5s. Hence Ital. *soldo*, Fr. *solde*; and *Soldat*, soldier, etc.

354. *fest*, *invulnerable*. Cf. *eine feste, Festung*, a fastness, etc. Superstitions as to the efficacy of charms, amulets, etc. were as rife in Europe in these ages as they are nowadays among the natives of Central Africa and other savages.

356. *Euch*; cf. ll. 3 and 304. See also p. xxxviii.

359. *Koller*, also *Goller* (der and das; see *Wilh. Tell*, iii. 3), the loose leather doublet worn over armour, protecting the neck. *Wamms* (l. 253) was a tight-fitting under-vest, or jerkin. In his description of the battle Schiller says that Gustavus was *blos mit einem ledernen Goller und einem Tuchrock bekleidet*, for an unhealed wound prevented him from wearing armour. This *Goller*, bloodstained and pierced by bullets, was sent as a trophy to Vienna.

360. *Ballen*, an unusual form for *Bälle*. *Ein Ballen* = a bale; but *Ball* is sometimes *weak* when = *Spielball* or *Kugel*. *Ich warf den Ballen weg, womit ich spielte* (Goethe). *Schneeballen* for *Schneebälle* is sometimes used.

361. *Könnte ihm keine . . . nur, i.e.* 'not one could even. . .'

364. *Er ist in seinem Kollet (auf dem Porträt) dargestellt, das er gewöhnlich im Felde, nach damaliger Mode, von Elendsleder trug* ('Murr,' quoted by Düntzer). *Das Elendthier* (cf. Eng. *Eland*), *Elennthier*, or *Elenn* = elk; Russ. *olen* (= *Hirsch*), Pol. *jelen*. The 'd' is inserted as in *Jemand*, *Sindstut*, etc. In the fine ballad, *Schloss Eger*, by Fontane, *Illo* (the only one who defended himself against the conspirators) is described as wearing a doublet of buffalo skin—

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Also nur, Herz wie Kehle,  
 Hält bei Laune sich,  
 Dicht ist seine Seele  
 Gegen Hieb und Stich —  
 Trägt ein Büffel Koller  
 Wie sein Körper, traun! —

368. A common expression meaning, 'there's something wrong, or uncannie, here.' Cf. *Faust*, i. 10—

Wer konnte nur die beiden Kästchen bringen?

Es geht nicht zu mit rechten Dingen!

370. Dinge, is the plural of Ding, when used in its ordinary sense. Dinger expresses pity or contempt, generally applied to persons. Ihr garstigen Dinger! Arme Dinger! etc.

372. The graues Männlein is the astrologer Seni, Wallenstein's adviser. See *Pic.* ii. 1, *Tod*, v. 10.

frist = time of grace, respite; used poetically for Zeit. Here the word lends an air of mystery. *In the hours of darkness.*

375. drauf, *thereupon*.

379. eine Blechhaube . . . eine Flasche . . . These are accusatives, as may be seen from such examples as—

Zu Dionys, dem Tyrannen, schlich

Damon, den Dolch im Gewande.

SCH. *Die Bürgschaft*.

386. entlang is used in combination with a preposition (an), or with acc. genit. or dat., and stands either before or after its noun.

387. gelenkt. For the past partic. used in commands or exclamations cf. Aufgepaßt! attend! losgelassen! let go! rechtsumkehrt! right about face! links geschwenkt! left wheel! and ll. 1052, 1100, etc.

390. frisch, l. 243.

in die Weite, i.e. 'up and away!' cf. in die weite Welt hinaus.

396. mir; see on l. 3.

400. Kittel, hemdartiges Oberleid, blouse. The old word fidel seems to have meant a long overcoat. The peasant's Kittel is frequently made of thick woollen stuff.



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401. Kaisers Rock, *i.e.* the imperial uniform. Cf. ll. 428, 942.

402. Much the same as *Die Freiheit macht ihn*, l. 235.

404. Kram; see note at beginning of *Lager*.

405. Schwefelfaden, or Zündfaden. Before the general introduction of wooden matches (Schwefel- or Streichhölzchen) thread or yarn (Garnfaden) dipped in brimstone was used. One finds, however, *Strichholz* in the fifteenth century. *Bah! who'd deal in lucifer matches?*

406. von seiner Paten; see on l. 98. Both die Pate and die Patin are used.

407. A Stück Wein (now obsolete) was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Ohm (Ohm) or 18 Eimer. The Eimer holds 67 Liter, therefore a Stückfaß contains 1200 Liter, *i.e.* 12 Hektoliter, or 264 gallons.

409. Notice the familiar Du, as contrasted with the Er of the pompous Wachtmeister (l. 414 sq.) See on l. 82.

410. sitzen lassen, to abandon, or leave in the lurch (im Stiche), or in prison. Here: *he leaves behind him*.

412. für; see on l. 29.

414. dem Rekruten. This dative is used very commonly when we in English use a possessive pronoun or possessive case, especially in speaking of parts of the body or dress—Ihm zur Seite, by his side; Ich zog es ihm aus der Tasche; er hat sich den Finger abgeschnitten; cf. Fr. 'je me suis coupé le doigt,' etc.

417. Notice that when the separable prefix of the verb is used in the sentence as a preposition followed by a noun it often need not be repeated as the prefix, though in prose one would generally use it, as—Ich habe mich an sie angeschlossen (*not* geschlossen); cf. l. 605. With verbs of motion the prefix, when repeated, is often preceded by hin or her, as—er ging rings um die Stadt herum.

418. fürnehm, l. 41.

fahren; cf. *Marc.* ix. 25—Ich gebiete dir, daß du von ihm ausfahrest, und fahrest hinfort nicht in ihn.

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420. Lit. 'On Fortune's her ship.' This double possessive, as it might be called, is common im Volksmunde. The noun is sometimes in *dat.*, as für meinem Feldwebel seine Frau ('Auerbach,' quoted in Eve's *Germ. Gr.*); but also *genit.*, as Des Teufels sein Angesicht, l. 740. For fortuna, cf. *Pic.* iv. 4, where Wallenstein is called der Fortuna Kind.

425. Färbers Gaul. Die Färber lassen das Farbenmaterial auf einer Art Roßmühle zerreiben, wobei das Pferd an einem Schwenzel oder Hebel zieht (Goldbeck, *Schill. Lex.*) Others say the horse turns the rollers used zum Glätten der großen Stücke, or a Göpel (winch) for hoisting.

427. Losung, watchword.  
auf Erden; see on l. 98.

428. 'mal; see on l. 13.

429. führ' ich . . . des Kaisers Stod. In its connection with Aus dem Soldaten kann Alles werden and Wer's zum Corporal . . . one might be tempted to compare this with the celebrated *mot* that every private soldier carries a field-marshal's bâton in his knapsack. [führen = to have in one's pocket; see on l. 14. Moreover, l. 454, the Wachtmeister evidently alludes to the possibility of Wallenstein's establishing ein Reich von Soldaten (l. 331), and thus becoming Kaiser.] But it probably merely refers to the sergeant's bâton—Der Wachtmeister hatte auch die Feld- oder Lager Polizei mit zu besorgen.—(W.) The meaning is therefore: 'In this uniform I wield (führe) a symbol of imperial power—viz. my staff or bâton.' He then explains that the sceptre was originally merely a staff, the emblem of power and authority—as it still is among savages. *Σκήπτρον* = staff; cf. Homer, *Il.* i. 238; xviii. 505. The inference is, of course, that as all constituted authority is originally due to brute force and the power of the sword, and as now 'war is the watchword on earth,' as it was in den alten Zeiten, Wo die Klinge noch alles thät bedeuten (l. 314), therefore aus dem Soldaten kann alles werden.

434. zum; see on *Prol.* l. 6. This is the usual expression—

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Mein Vater hat es schon zum Obersten gebracht, has  
got his regiment (Kotzebue).

435. Cf. *Prolog* l. 99.

436. weit . . . treiben, generally = carry on too far (cf. l. 6); here = weit bringen, to get on, succeed.

437. See on l. 121.

440. Chef = Chef; see on ll. 347 and 209.

441. Buttler. Walter Butler, a descendant of a Norman family (Hervey) that had settled in Ireland. One of his Irish dragoons appears later (l. 675; see l. 785). Butler was of an ambitious and revengeful character, and was mistrusted by Wallenstein (*Tod*, iii. 4). For the part that he took in Wallenstein's murder see p. xl. He was rewarded by the Emperor with lands and the title of Graf, but died in the same year, 1634. (The refusal of this title by the Emperor, on Wallenstein's advice, which is used in the play, *Tod*, ii. 6, as a motive for Butler's revenge, is unhistorical.)

444. Das macht, er . . . = das kommt daher, daß er. . . . The expression is common in conversational language; also das macht, weil. . . . It is merely a loose way of saying Sein Sichhervorthun macht es, daß er es zum Generalmajor gebracht hat. Cf. Ps. xc. 7, Das machet dein Zorn, daß wir vergehen.

baß is the old form of the *adverbial* compar. of gut, of which besser was the *adjective*. Later besser was used also adverbially, and baß almost disappeared. It is still used in poetry as = tüchtig, finely, or much; the comparative force being scarcely ever present. Sind die im Unglück, die wir lieben, Das wird uns wahrlich baß betrüben (Goethe). [fürbaß = further. Da er von dannen fürbaß ging.—Matt. iv. 21.]

449. vermag und kann; merely pleonastic.

454. ermessen (generally = estimate, conjecture), here = attain, compass. Er often has the force of attainment, as in erjagen, erflehen, erleben, erringen, ersingen, erreichen, etc. Notice present tense where we use future.

455. For it's not the end of the world yet. A proverbial expres-

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sion often used when one is irritated at having failed in anything = 'Never mind! there's time yet!'

457. It is asserted by Ranke (*Gesch. Wallensteins*) that Wallenstein undoubtedly was a student at Altdorf, and distinguished himself there by such wild behaviour that he escaped 'relegation' (expulsion) only through the intercession of his relatives. Others deny the fact, and attribute the freak here described to another of the Waldstein family. Altdorf is a small town about fifteen miles south-east from Nürnberg, on the railway line to Regensburg. Its university (which does not now exist) was under the control of the Nürnberger Stadtrat.

Studentenfragen, the large collar of the academical gown.

458. *Trieb*; l. 6.

*Permiß* (l. 347) = *Erlaubnis*.

459. *Burs* or *Bursch* is derived, as also *Börse* (purse and Bourse) from Gr. *βύρα* (skin, purse). Orig. it meant a club or society of (male) persons living together; hence applied to schools and universities (scholars = *bursarii*). Then *Bursch* was used for the members themselves, exactly as *Frauenzimmer* (= *gynæceum*, the women's apartment) came in time to mean a woman. *Bursch*, or *Bursche* = undergraduate; also fellow, boy, etc. ['Freshman' = *Fuchs*.] *Burschikos* (Lat. or Gr. termin.) = *like a student, rowdy*; also applied to university 'slang.'

460. Wie Professoren, so hatten auch reiche Studirende Studenten als Diener (*famuli*).—DÜNTZER. These *famuli* acted as 'scouts' or 'fags.' Wallenstein's *famulus* is said to have been Joh. Reheberger, and he was bald erschlagen for having gone to sleep on the window-sill!

462. *Mir nichts, dir nichts* = *will he nill he*, 'nolens volens.'

*Karzer*. The Latin word (whence also *Kerker*, an ordinary dungeon) is used exclusively for *Schulgefängnis*, 'black hole.'

465. *anfangen*; often = 'do,' as *Ich weiß gar nicht, was ich anfangen soll*.

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467. nennt's sich; cf. l. 205.
468. Means 'any plucky fellow might be proud to have done it'; lit. 'might see his reflection in it.'
469. großen Thaten allen. The position of *allen* is unusual, but no more strained than it would be in English verse. An inflected adj. often follows its noun in Old German, as *ein' edele schoene frome reine* (Walter v. d. Vogelweide). It is now used seldom thus *with inflection*. Er gab Befehl, ausdrücklichen (Sch.); Mein ganzes Leben, vergangenes und künftiges (*Tod*, ii. 3).
470. Stüchden, *freak, trick*, as in *Kunststück*.
471. unterwegs; still common for *unterwegs*, of which the old form was *unterwegens*, used by Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing (*Nathan*, iv. 8). *Unterwegs lassen* = *leave alone, leave off*. For the Dragoner see on l. 675.
475. bei Troste = bei Sinnen; 'peace of mind' being the main idea in *Trost*, 'comfort.'
476. was Apartes, *something to himself, specially his*. The word is often used of something (in dress, etc.) very 'choice'; see l. 867.
477. schön; see on *Prolog* l. 2.
480. die Prager, musical miners (*Bergknappen*) from Prag, so called as if known as the 'Prag Band.' Schiller at first intended to introduce only one musician (*Letter to Goethe*, 1798).
481. Händel (plur.) = bother, trouble, *quarrel*.  
Ich bin dabei, *Here I am! I'm for you!* cf. ll. 484, 639.

## 8. Auftritt.

bekommt den Kapuziner zu fassen, *i.e.* runs into him, and embraces him instead of the girl.

The following are extracts (given by Düntzer) from the original Tractate (*Auff, Auff ihr Christen!*) of the Viennese Capuchin Abraham a Sancta Clara (see p. liv.):—Lebt man doch allseits, als hätte der Allmächtige Gott das Schiragra und könne nicht mehr dareinschlagen—Nicht stehen wie faulenzler, denen Fihweis [3. Vorwurf] ist gesagt worden: 'Quid hic statis tota die otiosi?'—Zu schimpffen seynd alle diejenige Soldaten, die lieber mit der Sabinl als mit dem

Säbel umspringen—Soldaten die lieber haben Krüg als Krieg, seynd nichts nutz—Der gar große und erschröckliche Comet mag woll ein Ruthen geweest sein, die uns Gott in diß große Fenster gesteckt hat.—Vor vielen Jahren hero ist das Römische Reich schier Römisch arm worden durch stäte Krieg—Elsaß ist ein Elend·Saß worden durch lauter Krieg; der Rhein·Strohm ist ein Peyn·Strohm worden und andere Länder in Elender kehrt worden—Die Sünd ist der Magnet, welcher das scharpffe Eysen und Kriegs·Schwerdt in unsere Länder zieht—Nach dem S im ABC folgt das T, nach der Sünd folgt der Türr—‘Et ubi erit victoria, si Deus offenditur?’—Das Weib in dem Evangelio hat den verlohrenen Groschen gesucht, und gefunden; der Saul hat die Esel gesucht und gefunden; der Joseph hat seine saubere Brüder gesucht, und gefunden; der aber Zucht und Ehrbarkeit beytheils [einigen] Soldaten sucht, der wird nicht viel finden—Worauff Joannes geantwortet: Thut niemand Überlast, noch Gewalt: ‘Contenti estis stipendiis vestris,’ und seyet mit eurem Sold zu frieden—Es ist ein Gebott, du sollest den Namen Gottes nicht eytel nennen. Wann euch sollte von einem jeden flucher ein Härlein ausgehen, so würde euch in einem Monath der Schedel so glat, und so er auch des Absolons Strobel gleich wäre, als wie ein gesottener Kalbskopff.—So man zu allen Wetteren [*i.e.* oaths, plur. of Wetter!], welche euer fluch·Zung ausbrütet, müßte die Glocken leutten, man köndte gleichsamb nicht Messner genug herbey schaffen—David war ein Soldat . . . doch hat dieser streittbare Kriegsfürst keinem viel tausend Teuffel auff den Rücken geladen—Ich vermeine ja nicht, daß man das Maul muß als·weiter auffsperrn zu diesem Spruch: Gott helf dir, als der Teuffel holl dich—Vor euch nicht sicher ist das Geld in der Truhen, die Truhen in dem Haus, das Haus in dem Dorff, das Dorff in dem Land.

Line

483. *Huzza! hooray! yahoo! Here's jolly fun! I'm for you too! He repeats the words of the Jäger, who has just run against him.*

Dudeldumdei, a nonsensical exclamation, used also by Goethe.

486. Antibaptisten, the Anabaptists (*i.e.* Widertäufer, instead of Wiedertäufer), so called, implying that they

Line

*denied* baptism (cf. *Jesuite*, 941). The sect was much persecuted, especially at the time of the Zwinglian Reformation in Switzerland. At Zürich many were *gefaßt*—tied up in sacks and thrown into the lake. In North Germany they took the name of *Mennoniten*, after Menno Simons their leader.

487. *Sonntag*; see on l. 55. For a Capuchin this strict Sabbatarianism seems rather out of place.

491. Matt. xx. 6. As in the original, these quotations from the Vulgate are loosely translated by the speaker.

495. See on l. 112.

497, 498. *Böhmén . . . grämen*. In Saxony and other parts *ö* is pronounced by the common people almost exactly as *e* or *ä*; cf. ll. 181, 673.

500. *Sabel*, vulgar for *Säbel*.

502. *Ogenstirn*; *Ogenstierna*, see p. xxxviii.

508. *'runter* = *herunter*, as *'rein* = *herein*, etc.

511. *Klagehaus*, *house of mourning*. *Es ist besser in das Klaghaus gehen, denn in das Trinkhaus*.—Eccl. vii. 3.

513. The play on the words *Reich* and *reich* cannot be given in English. The Holy Roman Empire existed from 800 A.D.—‘when Charles the Great was crowned Emperor of the Romans by Pope Leo III.’ (Bryce)—until 1806, when Francis II. resigned the imperial crown—that is, for more than 1000 years; or, if we consider it as a continuation of the Roman Empire, for over 1750 years.

515. *worden* for *geworden*, as in the original.

516. *ausgenommen*, *pillaged*, *robbed*.

517. *Wüsthümer*, a word coined by Schiller, ‘wastedoms.’

519. Also coined words. The suffix *ei* sometimes means ‘the place of,’ as in *Druckerei*, *Meierei* (farm-house), etc. *Klüfte* would mean ‘ravines,’ ‘dens.’

521. *Elender*. I do not know whether Schiller, or rather Pater Abraham, was aware that his pun was justified by more than merely the similarity of sound. *Das Elend*, *misery*, is originally *das elende*, or *elilenti*, ‘the other

Line

land' (Lat. *alius*), i.e. the foreign land, or land of banishment; hence exile and misery. Ein schönes vom Heimweh eingegebenes Wort (Jac. Grimm).

529. herb = pungent.

( Zwiebel is usually *fem.* (Lat. *cæpa*, *cæpulla*). Weigand says it is used as *masc.* in Bavaria.

530. ~~Es~~, that is Weh. ~~It~~ stands for Unglück.

532. *Where will be hope of victory if God is offended?*

534. schwänzen, to shirk or cut (work, lectures, church, etc.) From Schwanz = train of dress (Schleppe); also = Haarzopf. Hence = sich aufputzen, to dress finely, swagger about, go lazily about anything, shirk.

539. faubern, *fine, precious*. In the original it is seine faubere. See on l. 43.

543. Notice this use of auch, 'even though.'

544. Wüsten; see on l. 98.

546. gelaufen. With verbs of motion the past part. is used where we use present: er kommt gesprungen, geritten, gefahren, herbeigeeilt, etc. This is not to be confused with the passive part. (see on l. 387).

548. *What shall we do?*

550. 'And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages.' —Luke iii. 14.

551. *Concutiare* (διασεlew) exactly = schinden und placken.

( 554. auf niemand lügt, tell lies on (against) nobody! usually gegen or wider. Man leuget (lügt) gern auf die Feute.—Sirach, xix. 15.

558. sollt, old form for sollst.

559. ausframen = to unpack Kram (l. 404) for sale, to rummage out. [In the original it is ein Wetter ausbrüten; lit. to hatch an oath.] Cf. Shakesp. *Hamlet*. ii. 2, 'unpack my heart with words.'

565. Mefner, or Sacristan, is the Ministrant (as Schiller calls him—Gang n. d. Eisenhammer) who rings the bell during the celebration of Mass.



## Line

Ein Glöcklein hört er erklingen fern,  
 Ein Priester war's mit dem Leib des Herrn,  
 Voran kam der Mefner geschritten.

(*Graf. v. Habsburg.*)

Here in a more general sense, 'sexton.'

566. böses Gebet = fluch.  
 567. ungewaschen, *foul*.  
 568. ausging: as in the original: *were to fall out*.  
 575. doch, *surely*.  
 577. Sacrament when used as an oath is often changed into  
     Sackerment (*Raub.* ii. 3); we find also Sapperment or  
     Schapperment, Sackerlot and Sackerloß.  
 580. sollt; see on l. 558.  
 584. Praktiken, used in plur. for *evil practices*, or 'intrigues'  
     (Ränke). In this sense probably from Fr. *pratiquer*.  
 585. Both Berg and Burg (refuges in war) are connected with  
     bergen, *to put in a safe place*, secure, save.  
 589. Kommißbrot, soldier's ration (commissariat) bread  
     [Schwarzbrot.]  
 591. Kömmt, a common form of Kommt; cf. thät = that,  
     l. 32.  
     doch; explanatory, as below, 593; see on l. 87.  
 596. Beschütze meine Heerde—nicht! the negative of Weide  
     meine Schafe.—Joh. xxi. 16.  
 597. Das; see on l. 52.  
     so ein; used generally in contempt or depreciation, as:  
     Das ist so ein ganz gewöhnlicher Hund, etc. It may  
     be often translated by 'just a . . .,' or 'a regular'; cf.  
     on l. 198. But when the so is emphasised it = solch.  
     Ex. So ein Mensch!  
 598. Lehren; see on l. 98. Wallenstein was indifferent to  
     the religious beliefs of his soldiers. (Da fragt Niemand,  
     was Einer glaubt, l. 319.) He was hated by the  
     Jesuits (see on l. 316), whose influence at the Imperial  
     Court was very strong.  
 601. Bramarbas. The name of a braggart in a comedy by  
     Holberg, the great comic Danish poet; said to be  
     from Danish *bram* = Pracht and Prahlerei. The verb

Line

bramarbasiren is also used by Schiller—Der Wein  
bramarbasirt aus deinem Gehirne (*Räub.* i. 2).

604. Straßfund; see on l. 141.

605. geschlossen, *locked, clamped, riveted.* (Not to be confounded with the expression mentioned on l. 417.)

606. This verse was omitted by mistake in the first printed editions, and (though necessary for the rhyme) is still omitted from many modern editions. It was preserved in the copy used for the Berlin theatre.

609. Holofernes, the (probably mythical) general of Nebuchadnezzar, slain by Judith.

611. A clever application of the fact (see l. 628 *sq.*) that Wallenstein had a nervous horror of a crowing cock, as of all loud and shrill noises. Whether in palace or in camp, complete silence was kept in his vicinity. (Muß alles mausstill um ihn sein, l. 633.) Zwölf Patrouillen, says Schiller, mußten die Runde um seinen Palast machen, um jeden Lärm abzuhalten. . . . Kein Geräusch der Wagen durfte seiner Wohnung nahe kommen, und die Straßen wurden nicht selten durch Ketten gesperrt. Stumm, wie die Zugänge zu ihm, war auch sein Umgang. Finster, verschlossen, unergründlich, sparte er seine Worte mehr als seine Geschenke . . . er lachte niemals. A contemporary epitaph on him (*Theatr. Eur.* iii. p. 185) says—

Gar zart war ihm sein böhmisch Hirn,  
Konnt' nicht leiden der Sporen Klirr'n,  
Hahn, Hennen, Hund er bandirsirt [läßt fangen]  
Aller Orten, wo er logirt.

612. um dich geschehen, *it's all over (up) with you.* Um here merely = *as to*; compare, without confounding, the um in umbringen, umkommen (Lat. *perdere, perire*). Die alle sind um ihr Geld (gekommen), l. 823. Notice the sudden change from the respectful *Er* to the abusive *Du*; see on l. 82.

613. Gehet hin, und saget demselben Fuchs.—Luke xiii. 32.

614. Du bist des Todes! *you are a dead man!* Possibly = des Todes Kind (cf. *év Αἰδού*), or simply 'belonging to Death.' Ex. Er ist des Teufels, des Heufers, des

Line

Kufufs (l. 760), etc.; cf. Ich thu' was meines Amts  
(*W. Tell*, i. 3).

615. legen sich drein; see on l. 21.

616. Sprüchel = Sprüchlein. This form of the diminutive is common im Volksmunde through all Germany, especially in the south; cf. Büchel, Kind'l, Hänf'l, Hänfel or Hans'l, etc.

618. Sündenvater; evidently formed on the model of Lügen-vater.

Muffig, from der Muff = orig. a wry-mouth, hence a sulky, grumbling fellow (our 'muff' ?); Muffel, or Mops (this said by Weigand to be an English word) is a pug-dog, so called from its distorted mouth.

621. Einen Stein des Anlaufens und einen Fels der Uerger-nis.—Rom. ix. 33.

### 9. Auftritt.

The first twelve verses were inserted by Schiller almost at the last moment before the play was put on the stage, to connect the sermon with what follows.

624. Gückel, or Gückel (*onomatop.*), A.S. *cocce*, Eng. cock. In Bavaria also *Gogkelhan*.

626. *It was only just said, I suppose . . .*

627. nicht ganz ohne, sc. Grund. This elliptical use of ohne is not uncommon, as—Die Sache ist nicht ganz ohne [sc. *Wahrscheinlichkeit*]; Sie ist schmutz, aber die andern sind auch nicht ganz ohne [sc. *Schönheit*]; Ohne sein = ohne Geld sein (students' slang).

630. See on l. 611.

632. It was a vulgar belief that a lion could not endure a crowing cock. In an old Latin epitaph on Wallenstein we find—'Qui galli cantus, Libyci de more leonis Horruit.'

635. Sein immer arbeitender Kopf brauchte Stille.—Sch., 30jähr. Kr.; see on l. 611. The cognate accus. after denken is of late usage (especially since Klopstock)—

Line

Dann denkt mein Geist mit Preis und Dank

Die Schickung.—GELLERT.

Seit er das Kind in ihrer Gesellschaft dachte.—GOETHE.

636. *Schlagt zu!* Give it him! The idea seems that of hitting home, as we say. frisch, Bruder! Schlag zu, Bruder! (*Minna von Barnhelm*, i. 1).

638. Da setzt's Hiebe = da giebt's Hiebe. Setzen is used with this meaning in only a few similar expressions, as Es wird Händel (Schimpfworte, Grobheiten) setzen.

644. Bäschen, dim. of Base, coz, used in familiar address, as Vetter, Gevatter, Gevatterin (l. 1002).

646. bei sich; see on l. 14.

648. Propoß, from Lat. *propositus* (Eng. provost), the head of the regimental police. Propst is another form of the word, used generally of an ecclesiastical provost.

649. Mandat, decree, general order, i.e. against using false dice.

652. The quiet, unobtrusive entrance of the arquebusier (he is not even announced in the stage directions) is in keeping with his character. These arquebusiers (only one of whom speaks, the other silently looking on as a κῶφον πρόσωπον) are called by Goethe, Repräsentanten des rechtlichen und pflichtliebenden Theils der Armee. They belong to Tiefenbach's regiment, which had been quartered at Brieg in Schlesien, to protect that country from the Swedes. By his humane and charitable views with regard to the peasant ('the peasant is a human being, so to say') and the working classes (Mährstand), and by his opinion of war as an evil (l. 966), the arquebusier is sharply contrasted with the Jäger, who speaks of him with contempt (ll. 659, 1007), and he is distinguished by a few delicate and skilful touches from the cuirassier, who, while he pities the sufferers, and has an evident leaning towards the delights of home and peace, accepts war as a necessity, and glories in the soldier's life. The arquebusier remains unshaken in his loyalty towards the Emperor, and when he finds that he is outvoted he quietly leaves the scene with his comrade, after paying for what he has drunk, which is nicht der Rede werth. Arkebuser, from Ital. archi-

Line

*bugio*, lit. 'arch-hole' or 'fork-barrel,' so called from the heavy gun (*Hafen- oder Gabelbüchse*) which was rested upon a kind of inverted pitchfork.

655. *Einem das Wort reden* = *Parteinehmen*, take one's part.

659. *Geratter*, contemptuous, as we might say 'gaffer'; cf. Fr. *compère*.

661. Ironical.

662. Goethe calls these cuirassiers *eine fühnere und gebildetere Klasse Menschen*. The first speaker comes from Brüggén (*Tod*, iii. 15), and belongs to the Walloon regiment of Graf Pappenheim, who fell at Lützen, now under the command of Max Piccolomini. The second is from Köln, and is in a Lombard regiment. Of the former Carlyle says, 'The Pappenheimer is an older man, more sedate (than the Jäger). . . . He has wandered over Europe, and gathered settled maxims of soldierly privilege. . . . With his military stoicism is blended a dash of homely pathos.' See on l. 652.

669. *was* = 'as quick as'; the usual expression, as, *Er lief, was er nur laufen konnte*.

671. *mit solchem Volke*, i.e. as the *Scharfschützen*, and other such *Gefindel*.

673. *Wallon* is related to Lat. *Gallus*, *Gallicus*. The Walloons are the aboriginal Gallic or Celtic inhabitants of Belgium. The same root exists in *wälisch* ('foreign,' i.e. not Teutonic; especially Italian or French)—*Wales* (*pays de Galles*), *Wallis* (*Valais*), *Wallnuß*, *Wallachei*, etc.; see l. 786, 787.

*dem*; for the rhyme, see on l. 497.

675. The Irish dragoon, who here again joins the other speakers, is a rough, self-reliant soldier of fortune—a *Schattenbild* of Buttler, his chief. Evidently incapable of taking a part in the discussion that follows, he only blurts out (with his friends the *Scharfschützen*, with whom he has been gambling) a 'Success to the Army,' and sings a verse of the concluding song.

677. *Oberst* (*Obersts*, l. 685) is decl., either *weak* or *strong*, according as it is regarded as an adjectival noun or not.

## Line

- One can say, *mein Oberster*, or *mein Oberst*. For Pappenheim's death, see p. xxxviii.
680. *hat was voraus*, lit. 'has something before others,' *is privileged*.
684. *ausbringen*; often = 'to propose' (a toast); not unfrequently also = *to let out* (divulge), as, *Wie ist das Geheimnis ausgekommen? Wer hat es ausgebracht?* This news, brought by the second cuirassier, is, as it were, an unexpected discord introducing a new key and the *Hauptmotiv*—that of allegiance—in which the sentiments of the various characters are more strongly accentuated.
687. *Sind voller Gift*, *they are full of poison*, *i.e.* 'they are looking daggers.' The genit. termination is not always used after *voller*; thus we have *voller . . . alles Unflats* (Matt. xxiii. 27), but *ein Gesicht voller Ausdruck* (Eckermann). Possibly the expression assimilates itself to those of *measure*, as *ein Glas voll Wein* (*not Weins*).
692. *Mann* (as l. 735), used in sing. in such expressions; cf. *zehn Fuß, drei Pfund*, 'a thousand horse,' 'duck,' 'snipe,' etc.
- ansitzen*; see on l. 113.
696. *absonderlich*, usually *befonders*.
697. *ja*; see on l. 5.
698. 'Him from Milan,' *i.e.* Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, son of Philip III., who had some time previously been made *Statthalter* of the Netherlands. He was at present at Milan (see on ll. 143, 144), and troops to escort him thence to his new government (6000 horse according to Schiller's *Hist.*; 8000 according to this passage and *Pic.* ii. 7) were demanded for him from Wallenstein by the Emperor. As *Statthalter* he later in this year (1634) took an inglorious part in the raid on Trier after the battle of Nördlingen. (See Sch., *30jähr. Kr.*, bk. v.)
706. *sollen wir*, sc. *machen*; a common ellipsis, as *Wo wollen Sie hin?* etc.
708. The 'red hat' is, of course, the Cardinal.

Line

714. fortuna, as l. 420.

716. Cf. the vulgar, 'with all this here talk.'

Gered'; see on *Prol.* l. 34.719. Befehl-buch, *order-book*. Cf. our 'he talks like a book.'

720. Bäschen; see on l. 644.

721. Melnecker, more accurately Melnick. There is no wine grown in Bohemia except in the vicinity of Prag and in the Elbe valley, between Melnik (at the junction of the Moldau) and Aussig, a short distance above 'Saxon Switzerland.' The pompous, pedantic language of the Wachtmeister in the following speeches is inimitable.

726. das Nächste = die nächsten Umstände; cf. Du siehst zu weit, Macchiavell! Wer handelt, muß für's Nächste sorgen (Egmont). What is near can be seen in detail; hence also *details* as opposed to das Ganze. Cf. Näheres = *further particulars*, as often in advertisements of houses, etc. — Näheres beim Hausmann, 'further particulars from the porter.'

728. überschlagen, here = einen Uberschlag machen, *i.e.* to make a rough calculation or general estimate. The Wachtmeister here apes his master in scorning details.

735. Gefreiter: vom Schildwachestehen befreiter Soldat (Weigand), *i.e.* lance-corporal.

Mann, l. 692.

740. des Teufels sein . . .; see on l. 420.

741. Kollet (better Collet, as it is directly from Fr. *collet*, or Ital. *colletto*), plur. -e, or -er; = Reitjacke. Cf. Koller, l. 359.

742. schmeißen, a common, rather vulgar, word = *chuck, dash, hurl*.

Der is said to be a corruption of Boßs, *i.e.* des Boßs! = des Teufels! (the medieval devil having inherited the goat nature from the ancient Satyr or Faun).

745. lachen, with genit. (pers. pron.) = auslachen, *laugh at, laugh to scorn, deride*.

749 sq. He means the first army, which was raised in 1625 — 'eight or nine years ago.' The saying is commonly

## Line

attributed to Wallenstein that 'an army of 50,000 can feed itself'; (see Sch., 30j<sup>ähr</sup>. Kr. bk. ii.) Ranke, however, asserts that he can find no contemporary authority for it. Trench (*Gust. Adolphus*) compares Napoleon's words to Junot, who hesitated to advance on the plea of inability to feed his troops: 'An army of twenty thousand men can live anywhere, even in a desert.'

760. *beim Kufuf*. The cuckoo seems (probably from its habits) to be amongst most nations a bird of ill fame, and to have been the object of various superstitions. In this expression it *steht als altheidnischer Zaubervogel für den Teufel* (Weigand).

767. *Proßt Mahlzeit!* (*prosit*, Lat.) lit. 'may the meal do good!' an expression used after meals, as *Pic.* iv. 6—*Herr Bruder! Profit Mahlzeit!* (*Gesegnete Mahlzeit* is more usual.) But also commonly used as expletive—for instance by comic actors when pausing for breath, etc., as our 'bless me!' Cf. *proßt Neujahr!* the greeting that resounds through the streets of German towns when the bells ring in the New Year. *Proßt!* or *Gesundheit!* is also an exclamation used when any one sneezes (said to date from the time of the great Plague).

770. That is, the Imperial Chancellor at Vienna would order where we are to be billeted (*einquartiert*) and what our bill of fare is to be.

772. *der alte Bettel*, 'the old nonsense.' *Bettel*=beggary; hence—trumpery, rubbish, folly.

773. *wird's stehen an*. This *Wortstellung* (of which I know no other example in modern literature) occurs in writers as late as the seventeenth century—the contemporaries of Wallenstein. Its use by Schiller is one of many proofs of the assiduity with which he collected materials from such sources. The following examples (from Logau, 1604-1655) are kindly supplied me by the Editor of this Series. The first is interesting as being very much in the style of Abraham a Sancta Clara (l. 515 sq.)—



Line

Ein Scheuland bist du jetzt, O liebes Teutschland, worden  
 Durch Jorn, Ueib, Krieg, Gewalt, durch rauben und durch morden,  
 Ein jeder scheut sich nun, in dich zu bauen ein,  
 Weil mehr kein Mensch in dir, nur lauter Teuffel seyn.

Wer bei hofe dienen wil, wil daselbst gnad erringen,  
 Wie muß der sich stellen an, recht zu rathen seinen Dingen?

Anstehen = wahren, dauern. Ex. Es stund nur an eine  
 kleine Weile (Wackernagel); Anstand es lange Zeit,  
 bis ich eröffnet ihr, wie sie mir anstand (Rückert).

775. Einem nicht grün sein, *to feel ill-will against any one.*

The idea is probably that of the freshness and sweetness of green foliage. Stiefväter, die ihren Kindern nicht grün sind (Luther). Cf. Sich an Jemandes grüne (beste) Seite setzen; Nicht ganz grün bei Jemanden stehen (to be no longer in his good books).

784. Cf. Das schreibt sich her, l. 523.

786. See on ll. 441, 675; and for Wallon, Wälscher, l. 673.

791. Federsee; ein kleiner See in dem Donaukreise des jetzigen Königreichs Württemberg, das zur Zeit des 30jähr. Krieges eine Grafschaft des Herzogtums Schwaben war (Goldbeck). Düntzer says that it was so called from the feathery cotton-grass that grows on its banks.

792. Schwyz, the name of the canton from which the Eidgenossenschaft took its name, is often used, especially by the Swiss themselves, for die Schweiz, Switzerland.

794. Wismar, a town on the coast of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, between Lübeck and Rostock.

795. Eger, the scene of *Wallenstein's Tod*, an old Bohemian town, once strongly fortified, near the Bavarian frontier, lies on the river Eger (tributary of the Elbe), between the Fichtel and the Tepler Gebirge. Schloss Eger (where Terzky and his companions were murdered), originally built by Frederick Barbarossa (about 1180), stands on a rock above the river. Wallenstein's murder took place in the Bürgermeisterei.

796. See on l. 182.

801. Recht = *just, quite*; cf. recht gut! recht heiß (*bien chaud*), etc.

Line

802. **eingreifen**; the idea is that of two cogwheels 'catching' in each other, hence often used to express mutual influence or co-operation.
805. Notice the mood; *so that you never would* . . .
807. **mein Lebtag**, a common abbreviation for **meine Lebtag**. *Pic. i. 2*, **Mein Lebtag denk' ich dran**. In Luther's transl. all **mein Lebtag** (*Is. xxxviii. 15*) has been changed into **alle meine Lebtag**.
811. **Einem ans Leben kommen**; lit. 'to attack a person's life,' *i.e.* to kill, ruin, exterminate. The expression is unusual. The impersonals **es geht ans Leben** (*de vita agitur*), **es geht an dich** (you are being attacked), etc., are common.
817. **alles**; see on l. 151.
820. **sich sehen lassen**, *i.e.* make a fine show.
821. **angreifen**, used often of an exhausting attack of illness. 'They drew on themselves beyond their means.'
823. **um**; see on l. 612.
825. **fluch**, curse, *i.e.* ruin.
832. **alle für einen Mann stehen** = to stand together as one man. Cf. l. 1000, **für einen stehn**.
833. **ordenanz**, a verb formed from Fr. *ordonnance*; see on l. 347. Schiller also uses **Ordonnanz** (*Tod*, v. 2; *Fiesco*, iv. 7, etc.) Here it is used as a grand word, contemptuously.
841. From **scheren**, to shear, comes **ungescheren**, originally applied to a sheep which is left unshorn, and therefore **unbelästigt**. Hence **sich scheren** = **sich belästigen**, **sich bekümmern**; also **impers. mich schiert es viel**; **was schiert mich das**, etc.
844. Notice the constr. with **hören** (cf. **lassen**, l. 17), as in Eng. 'I heard tell'; Ital. *vedere fare* (see done). That verbs such as **hören**, **lassen**, **sehen**, **lernen**, **lehren**, when thus used, have the nature of *auxiliaries* may be seen from the fact that in the past compound tenses they generally remain (as **müssen**, **dürfen**, etc.) in the infin. Thus **ich habe es erzählen hören**; **ich hätte sie nie kennen lernen**, etc.

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846. The conditions on which Wallenstein accepted command (see p. xxxvii.) were that he should hold the position of an independent prince of the Empire in his relations with Ferdinand; that he should have the absolute command, free from all interference on the part of the Emperor or others, over all German troops enlisted under Austrian or Spanish colours; that he alone should dispense commissions, promotions, rewards, and punishments, and should assign conquered or confiscated territory. How far he was allowed to treat independently with the enemy is a vexed question. By those who ascribe to him noble instead of treasonable motives it is stated that in his dealings with the Swedes he was acting entirely within his rights. The fact that he insisted on the future repeal of the obnoxious *Restitutionsedict* gives some colour to the assertion that his acts were dictated by a wish for peace.

852. *Ehrenfachen*, here = *prerogatives*, i.e. those of an 'immediate and independent prince of the Empire.'

859. An unusual but vigorous form of expression that might easily occur with a speaker who, as the *Wachtmeister*, is waxing a little warm. He merely changes the construction, and says *des Reiches Fürst* instead of *Reichsfürst* or *Fürst des Reiches*, thereby emphasising the fact that Wallenstein is a prince of the *Empire*. There is not the slightest reason for emasculating the passage (as Düntzer, Goldbeck, etc.) by any pedantic emendation, such as *Er ist ein Unmittelbarer und freier, Des . . .* An 'immediate prince of the Empire' was one who, as also a *reichsfreie Stadt*, owed allegiance only and directly (that is, not through any territorial lord) to the Kaiser as Head of the Holy Roman Empire, and possessed a vote at the Imperial Diet.

der Bayer is Maximilian. Cf. l. 114.

861. Brandeis, on the Elbe, not far from Prag.  
gethan; see on *Prol.* l. 3.

862. *selbsten*; cf. *dorten* (l. 142), *von dannen*, *von wannen*, *von selbst* (Goethe), old forms now used mostly in *Volksmunde*. On 19th January 1628 Wallenstein was made a *Reichsfürst* in virtue of his newly-acquired

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- duchy of Mecklenburg, and waited at the Emperor's table in Brandeis Castle. Though recognised by the Emperor as the reigning duke and allowed to *bedecken sein fürstlich Haupt*, he had only received Mecklenburg as a temporary pledge (see p. xxxi. n.), and was later deprived of his title at the Regensburg Diet, so that he was now (1634) no longer an *unmittelbarer Reichsfürst*. But we must not expect entire consistency or accuracy on the part of the zealous *Wachtmeister*.
867. *sehr* apart, *very special*, 'a great distinction'; see on l. 476.
868. *gelten lassen*, *let pass* (as money), *accept*.
870. Matt. xxii. 20, *Wesh ist das Bild und Ueberschrift?*
874. The argument is faulty, for even as Duke of Friedland Wallenstein had possessed the right of coining money. Düntzer speaks of *Ducaten, Thaler, Gulden* (florins), *und Groschen mit seinem Gepräg*.
876. *Durchlaucht*, *serene highness* (old partic. from *durchleuchten*), is a general title of princely personages. The superlative, *durchlauchtigst* or *allerdurchlauchtigst*, is used only of reigning princes or dukes.
883. See on l. 55.
889. *in Ehren*, *honourably*. This may be the old dat. sing. termination (l. 98), or, as Grimm says, the dat. plural. *Habt solche in Ehren*, Phil. ii. 29. *Was Gott will zu Ehren machen* (Luther).
894. *dem Herrn*, *i.e.* *dem Kaiser*.
- 896, 897. *Wer macht ihn . . . zu . . .*; see on *Prolog* l. 6.
899. As Ital. *vanto* (cf. *vantaggio*) and Lat. *gloria* mean both 'vaunt' and 'fame,' so *das große Wort* = *Prahlerie* and *Ruhm*. *Das große Wort führen* = to speak big, and also 'to take the lead.'
902. *im goldenen Zimmer*. In such cases (as in many others, *e.g.* *beim Ausgehen*; *am Montag*; *zum Narren machen*, etc.) we do not use the definite article. Transl. 'in gilded chambers.'
907. *Ich pflege es so zu halten* = *ich pflege es so zu machen*.
909. From the idea of carrying carefully (a child, or anything fragile) in one's hands, *auf den Händen tragen* = *to*

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- treat kindly*, to have a tender regard for. Cf. Matt. iv. 6, *sie werden dich auf den Händen tragen*.
910. *sich können fühlen*, lit. 'feel himself able,' *i.e.* have self-respect, *feel that he is somebody*.
913. *frisch*, l. 390.  
*spielen um . . .*, *play for, stake*.
924. *er muß vorbei*; see on l. 706 and cf. l. 947.
926. *Traubenlese*; see on *Prol.* l. 28.
928. *an* follows words denoting possession or want; as *arm, reich, fruchtbar, stark, Mangel, Ueberfluß*, etc. *What does he possess of worth or value?*
932. See on l. 652.  
*elend*; see on l. 521 and *Prol.* l. 2.
934. See on l. 662.  
*kommen for gekommen*—  
Gottes Sohn ist kommen  
Uns zu Heil und frommen.
938. *Napoli*, the Italian name for *Neapel* (Naples).
941. *Jesuit* for 'Jesuit.' It was often pronounced 'Jesu-wider,' = 'Antichrist.' See on l. 486.
943. *Wamms*, l. 254.
944. *Ne* = *nein*.
945. *erjagen*; see on l. 454.
955. *Gehudel* = *Hudelei, Schererei*. Carlyle translates: 'the world's poor restless scramble.'
956. *wegschau*; cf. *wegtragen*, l. 959.
958. *sich haben* (Lat. *se habere*, Gr. *ἔχειν*) = *sein*. *Das hat sich nicht nöthig*; *Er hat sich gut* (has an easy time), etc.
959. *wegtragen*; cf. l. 956. *Weg*, in such expressions, is like our 'away,' giving an idea of carelessness. 'To trot away over others' heads.' Cf. l. 984.
961. 'The sword is no longer by the scales,' *i.e.* no longer wielded by Justice.
962. *Über so, but, as things are . . .*

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963. *miß lenken* = *miß neigen*; an expression very natural in a mounted cuirassier.
964. *miß menschlich fassen*, *behave* (lit. compose or hold myself) *humanly*.
965. Schiller orig. wrote *Über ich brauche nicht . . .*, which he later altered for the sake of the rhythm. The connection with *fann* is loose, but the expression gains much in vigour by the alteration and is quite intelligible.
967. *gerathen*; see on l. 281; for construction, *Prolog* l. 3; for sentiment expressed, l. 652.
969. *In die sechzehn Jahr*, lit. 'up to the sixteen years,' i.e. 'going on for sixteen years'; cf. *bis tief in die Nacht*; *er geht ins dritte Jahr*, etc., and *vaûs és τὰς διακοσίων*. See on *Prolog* l. 80.
979. *Einbauen* = to hew into: hence (of cavalry) *to charge*.
980. *Ansetzen* = 'to set on,' i.e. start, rush forward for a jump, race, charge, etc.
983. *Geriff*; imperf. subj.
984. *weg*, as l. 959.
985. Notice the coarse indifference of the Jäger in contrast to the *ich fann es nicht ändern* of the Cuirassier.
987. *einmal* merely strengthens the assertion: 'since then it just *has* turned out that . . .'
990. *treiben*; l. 6.
992. *Which will put a stop to this business*. Cf. *Schulwesen*, educational matters; *Das gelehrte Wesen*, the world of letters (everything and everybody connected with literature); *das gemeine Wesen*, public affairs, etc.
998. A proverbial expression meaning to cut short one's supplies.
1000. See on l. 832.
1002. *Gevatterin*, 'gossip'; see on l. 644. With 'gossip' cf. Ital. *comare* = *Pathe* and also *Plandertasche*.
1006. *Brüder*, *mates*; cf. l. 105.
1007. *das*, l. 52.
- Seifensieder*, *soapboiler*; as *Gevatter Schneider und Handschuhmacher*, l. 659. Possibly Schiller may have had in mind Goethe's *Seifensieder* (*Egmont*),

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who is at first of a pacific nature, though he afterwards loses his temper and commits an assault.

1009. *Anschlag*, *design*, *plot*; *i.e.* the attempt to weaken the army by sending the escort. See on l. 692.

1010. *What! We'll just (simply) not go!*

1016. *gut sagen für*=*stehen für*, *answer for*. *Gutsager*=*surety*; *Gutsagung*=*security* (for loans, etc.)

1018. See on l. 37.

1020. *Lombard . . . Wallonen*; see on ll. 662, 673.

1021. See on l. 121.

1024. See on l. 45.

1025. See on l. 675.

1027. See on l. 45. The loyalty of the Tyrolese to their Austrian *Landesherren*, the Habsburg Emperors, by whom they were more than once disgracefully abandoned, is well illustrated by their struggles against France and Bavaria under the ill-fated hero, Andreas Hofer (1810).

1029. *Ein Promemoria*, a memorial or statement.

1034. *Devotion*; l. 347.

1035. Max Piccolomini, son of Octavio; a fictitious character.

1036. *versteht sich auf . . .*, *knows how to manage*. *Er versteht sich auf die Gärtnerei*, etc.=is skilled in, is an adept at.

1038. A metaphor from *Brettspiel* (draughts). The pieces at draughts and chess, originally stones, are still called *Steine*. *Einen Stein im Brette haben*=to have a piece in good position; hence *to have influence*.

1039. *With his imperial and royal Majesty*. The article would naturally be repeated if *König* referred (as some say) to the King of Hungary, Ferdinand's son. The expression *kaiserlich und königlich* (k. k.) is used in connection with the present German Emperor as King of Prussia, and the (so-called) Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary. Ferdinand was Archduke of Austria and King of Bohemia.

1040. *einschlagen*, *to grasp or shake hands* (on a bargain). In *Tod*, i. 2, we find that the soldiers had sent in the

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- document on their own account. Max Piccolomini is not mentioned.
1044. Gnaden is a plural. When used in direct address this fact is neglected, *Ew. Gnaden* = *Euer Gnaden*.
1046. Gute Verrichtung, lit. 'good accomplishment,' *i.e.* success to you!
1048. geben, *i.e.* pay.
1049. See on l. 675.
1051. The following Reiterlied, sung in his day by Theodor Körner and Lützows wilde Jagd (l. 212), is still one of the most popular of German soldier-songs. Düntzer describes it well: Das einen etwas höhern Ton anschlagende Schlußlied mit Chor ist gleichsam die Poesie des gemeinen Soldatenlebens, das dem herzhaften Muthe und der frischen Jugendlust vertraut, unbesümmert um das Schicksal, das wir nicht entgegen können.
1052. gezogen; l. 387.
1054. gewogen, *weighed*; *i.e.* put to the test.
1067. Ängst, plur. Ängste, fehlerhaft Ängsten (Weigand). Cf. Mein Weib und Kinder in Ängsten (acc.) zu stürzen (Goethe). Perhaps through confusion with das Ängsten (sich ängsten).
1070. Trifft's = wenn es (das Schicksal) ihn heute nicht trifft.
1076. erstreben; see on l. 454, and cf. erheben below.
1077. Fröner; see on l. 238. Schiller originally wrote Philister.
1088. Minnesold, *guerdon of love*. Sold, l. 353. Minne, originally = thought or longing remembrance (of a beloved person), *desiderium*: hence 'love.' Hence Minnesinger (the German troubadours), Minna, Mignon.
1091. schier qualifies the 3er; *almost pines to death*.
1092. Addressed to the girl: laß ihn (den Geliebten) fahren!
1096. Seine Ruh'; as in Gretchen's lovely song—  
 Meine Ruh' ist hin,  
 Mein Herz ist schwer. . . .  
 (*Faust*, i. 14.)



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1099. frisch; l. 390.

Rappe (a form of Rabe) = ein rabenschwarzes Pferd;  
charger.

1100. gelüftet, lit. 'aired,' i.e. *exposed, bared*.1103. einsetzen = *to stake*; cf. um's Leben spielen, l. 913.

Zum Pfande einsetzen = *versehen*, to pawn.

For one of the last performances of the *Lager* during Schiller's life he added the following (of which there are various versions) :—

Auf des Degens Spitze die Welt jetzt liegt  
 Drum froh, wer den Degen jetzt fñhret!  
 Und bleibet nur wacker zusammengefügt,  
 Ihr zwinget das Glück und regieret.  
 Es stñht keine Krone so fest, so hoch,  
 Der muthige Springer erreicht sie doch.

THE END



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